COLLECTED WORKS OF KOREAN BUDDHISM

12

韓國高僧碑文

ANTHOLOGY OF STELE INSCRIPTIONS OF EMINENT KOREAN BUDDHIST MONKS

Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

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Translated by Patrick R. Uhlmann
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ANTHOLOGY OF STELE INSCRIPTIONS OF EMINENT KOREAN BUDDHIST MONKS

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PATRICK R. UHLMANN

Preface to *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

At the start of the twenty-first century, humanity looked with hope on the dawning of a new millennium. A decade later, however, the global village still faces the continued reality of suffering, whether it is the slaughter of innocents in politically volatile regions, the ongoing economic crisis that currently roils the world financial system, or repeated natural disasters. Buddhism has always taught that the world is inherently unstable and its teachings are rooted in the perception of the three marks that govern all conditioned existence: impermanence, suffering, and non-self. Indeed, the veracity of the Buddhist worldview continues to be borne out by our collective experience today.

The suffering inherent in our infinitely interconnected world is only intensified by the unwholesome mental factors of greed, anger, and ignorance, which poison the minds of all sentient beings. As an antidote to these three poisons, Buddhism fortunately also teaches the practice of the three trainings: *śīla*, or moral discipline, the endurance and self-restraint that controls greed; *samādhi*, the discipline of meditation, which pacifies anger; and *prajñā*, the discipline of wisdom, which conquers ignorance. As human beings improve in their practice of these three trainings, they will be better able to work compassionately for the welfare and weal of all sentient beings.

Korea has a long history of striving to establish a way of life governed by discipline, compassion, and understanding. From the fifth century C.E. onward, the Korean saṅgha indigenized both the traditional monastic community and the broader Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. Later, the insights and meditative practices of the Seon tradition were introduced to the peninsula and this practice lineage lives on today in meditation halls throughout the country. Korea, as a land that has deep affinities with the Buddhist tradition, has thus seamlessly transmitted down to the present the living heritage of the Buddha's teachings.

These teachings begin with Great Master Wonhyo, who made the vast and profound teachings of the Buddhadharma accessible to all through his

various "doctrinal essentials" texts. Venerable Woncheuk and State Preceptor Daegak Uicheon, two minds that shined brightly throughout East Asia, left us the cherished legacy of their annotated commentaries to important scriptures, which helped to disseminate the broad and profound views of the Mahāyāna, and offered a means of implementing those views in practice. The collected writings of Seon masters like Jinul and Hyujeong revealed the Seon path of meditation and illuminated the pure land that is inherent in the minds of all sentient beings. All these works comprise part of the precious cultural assets of our Korean Buddhist tradition. The bounty of this heritage extends far beyond the people of Korea to benefit humanity as a whole.

In order to make Korea's Buddhist teachings more readily accessible, Dongguk University had previously published a fourteen-volume compilation of Korean Buddhist works written in literary Chinese, the traditional lingua franca of East Asia, comprising over 320 different works by some 150 eminent monks. That compilation effort constituted a great act of Buddhist service. From that anthology, ninety representative texts were then selected and translated first into modern vernacular Korean and now into English. These Korean and English translations are each being published in separate thirteen-volume collections and will be widely distributed around the world.

At the onset of the modern age, Korea was subjected to imperialist pressures coming from both Japan and the West. These pressures threatened the continuation of our indigenous cultural and religious traditions and also led to our greatest cultural assets being shuttered away in cultural warehouses that neither the general public nor foreign-educated intellectuals had any interest in opening. For any people, such estrangement from their heritage would be most discomforting, since the present only has meaning if it is grounded in the memories of the past. Indeed, it is only through the self-reflection and wisdom accumulated over centuries that we can define our own identity in the present and ensure our continuity into the future. For this reason, it is all the more crucial that we bring to the attention of a wider public the treasured dharma legacy of Korean Buddhism, which is currently embedded in texts composed in often impenetrable literary Chinese.

Our efforts to disseminate this hidden gem that is Korean Buddhism

reminds me of the simile in the *Lotus Sūtra* of the poor man who does not know he has a jewel sewn into his shirt: this indigent toils throughout his life, unaware of the precious gem he is carrying, until he finally discovers he has had it with him all along. This project to translate and publish modern vernacular renderings of these literary Chinese texts is no different from the process of mining, grinding, and polishing a rare gem to restore its innate brilliance. Only then will the true beauty of the gem that is Korean Buddhism be revealed for all to see. A magnificent inheritance can achieve flawless transmission only when the means justify the ends, not the other way around. Similarly, only when form and function correspond completely and nature and appearance achieve perfect harmony can a being be true to its name. This is because the outer shape shines only as a consequence of its use, and use is realized only by borrowing shape.

As Buddhism was transmitted to new regions of the world, it was crucial that the teachings preserved in the Buddhist canon, this jewel of the Dharma, be accurately translated and handed down to posterity. From the inception of the Buddhist tradition, the Buddhist canon or "Three Baskets" (*Tripiṭaka*), was compiled in a group recitation where the oral rehearsal of the scriptures was corrected and confirmed by the collective wisdom of all the senior monks in attendance. In East Asia, the work of translating Indian Buddhist materials into literary Chinese –the lingua franca for the Buddhist traditions of China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam– was carried out in translation bureaus as a collective, collaborative affair.

Referred to as the "tradition of multi-party translation," this system of collaboration for translating the Indian Sanskrit Buddhist canon into Chinese typically involved a nine-person translation team. The team included a head translator, who sat in the center, reading or reciting the Sanskrit scripture and explaining it as best he could with often limited Chinese; a philological advisor, or "certifier of the meaning," who sat to the left of the head translator and worked in tandem with him to verify meticulously the meaning of the Sanskrit text; a textual appraiser, or "certifier of the text," who sat at the chief's right and confirmed the accuracy of the preliminary Chinese rendering; a Sanskrit specialist, who carefully confirmed the accuracy of the language

of the source text; a scribe, who transcribed into written Chinese what was often initially an oral Chinese rendering; a composer of the text, who crafted the initial rendering into grammatical prose; the proofreader, who compared the Chinese with the original Sanskrit text; the editor, who tightened up and clarified any sentences that were vague in the Chinese; and finally the stylist, who sat facing the head translator, who had responsibility for refining the final rendering into elegant literary Chinese. In preparing these vernacular Korean and English renderings of Korean Buddhist works, we have thought it important to follow, as much as possible, this traditional style of Buddhist literary translation that had been discontinued.

This translation project, like all those that have come before it, had its own difficulties to overcome. We were forced to contend with nearly-impossible deadlines imposed by government funding agencies. We strained to hold together a meager infrastructure. It was especially difficult to recruit competent scholars who were fluent in literary Chinese and vernacular Korean and English, but who had with the background in Buddhist thought necessary to translate the whole panoply of specialized religious vocabulary. Despite these obstacles, we have prevailed. This success is due to the compilation committee which, with sincere devotion, overcame the myriad obstacles that inevitably arose in a project of this magnitude; the translators both in Korea and abroad; the dedicated employees at our committee offices; and all our other participants, who together aimed to meet the lofty standard of the cooperative translation tradition that is a part of our Buddhist heritage. To all these people, I would like to express my profound gratitude.

Now that this momentous project is completed, I offer a sincere wish on behalf of all the collaborators that this translation, in coming to fruition and gaining public circulation, will help illuminate the path to enlightenment for all to see.

Kasan Jikwan (伽山 智冠)
32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
October 10, 2009 (2553rd year of the Buddhist Era)

On the Occasion of Publishing *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

The Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, together with Buddhists everywhere, is pleased to dedicate to the Three Jewels –the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha– the completed compilation of the Korean and English translations of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism.* The success of this translation project was made possible through the dedication of Venerable Kasan Jikwan, former president of the Jogye Order and president of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought. Both the Korean and English translations are being published through the labors of the members of the Compilation Committee and the many collaborators charged with the tasks of translation, editing, and proofreading the compilation.

The thirteen volumes of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* are the products of nearly 1,700 years of Buddhist history in Korea. These Buddhist works are the foundation and pillar of Korean thought more broadly. This compilation focuses on four towering figures in Korean Buddhism: Venerable Wonhyo, posthumously named State Preceptor Hwajaeng, who was renowned for his doctrinal thought; Venerable Uisang, great master of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and pedagogical role model who was respected for his training of disciples; Venerable Jinul, also known as State Preceptor Bojo, who revitalized Seon Buddhism through the Retreat Society movement of the mid-Goryeo dynasty; and Venerable Hyujeong, also known as State Preceptor Seosan, who helped to overcome national calamities while simultaneously regularizing Korean Buddhist practice and education.

Through this compilation, it is possible to understand the core thought of Korean Buddhism, which continued unbroken through the Three Kingdoms, Goryeo, and Joseon periods. Included are annotated translations of carefully selected works introducing the Hwaeom, Consciousness-Only, and Pure Land schools, the Mahāyāna precepts, Seon Buddhism, the travel journals of Buddhist pilgrims, Buddhist cultural and historical writings, and the epitaphs of great monks.

This work is especially significant as the fruition of our critical efforts

to transform the 1,700 years of Korean Buddhist thought and practice into a beacon of wisdom that will illuminate possible solutions to the many problems facing the world today. Śākyamuni Buddha's teachings from 2,600 years ago were transmitted centuries ago to the Korean peninsula, where they have continuously guided countless sentient beings towards truth. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* contains a portion of the fruits realized through Koreans' practice of the Buddha's wisdom and compassion.

With the successful completion of this compilation, we confirm the power of the Jogye Order executives' devotion and dedication and benefit from their collective wisdom and power. So too can we confirm through the thought of such great masters as Wonhyo, Uisang, Jinul, Hyujeong and others a key feature of Buddhism: its power to encourage people to live harmoniously with each other through mutual understanding and respect.

The current strengthening of the traditions of Buddhist meditation practice and the revitalization of the wider Korean Buddhist community through education and propagation derive in large measure from the availability of accurate, vernacular translations of the classics of the sages of old, so that we too may be imbued with the wisdom and compassion found in their writings. When the lessons of these classics are made available to a contemporary audience, they can serve as a compass to guide us toward mutual understanding so that we may realize the common good that unifies us all.

Compilation of this thirteen-volume English-language edition of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* is an especially monumental achievement. To take on the task of translating these classics into English, global experts on Korean Buddhism were recruited according to their areas of expertise and were asked to consult with the scholars preparing the new Korean translations of these texts when preparing their own renderings. Though some English translations of Korean Buddhist texts have been made previously, this is the first systematic attempt to introduce to a Western audience the full range of Korean Buddhist writing. The compilation committee also sought to implement strict quality control over the translations by employing a traditional multiparty verification system, which encouraged a sustained collaboration between the Korean and English teams of translators.

This English translation of the *Collected Works* will serve as the cornerstone for the world-wide dissemination of knowledge about the Korean Buddhist tradition, which has heretofore not garnered the recognition it deserves. Together with international propagation efforts, Korean traditional temple experiences, and the temple-stay program, the English translation of the *Collected Works* will make an important contribution to our ongoing efforts to globalize Korean Buddhism. To facilitate the widest possible dissemination of both the Korean and English versions of this compilation, digital editions will eventually be made available online, so that anyone who has access to the Internet will be able to consult these texts.

Among all types of giving, the most precious of all is the gift of Dharma, and it is through sharing these teachings that we seek to spread the wisdom and compassion of Korean Buddhism, as well as the spirit of mutual understanding and unity, to people throughout the world. Our efforts to date have been to secure the foundation for the revitalization of Korean Buddhism; now is the time for our tradition to take flight. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* appears at an opportune moment, when it will be able to serve as a guiding light, illuminating the way ahead for Korean Buddhism and its emerging contemporary identity.

To all those who worked indefatigably to translate, edit, and publish this collection; to the compilation committee, the researchers, translators, proofreaders, editors, and printers; and to all the administrative assistants associated with the project, I extend my deepest appreciation and thanks. Finally, I rejoice in and praise the indomitable power of Venerable Jikwan's vow to complete this massive compilation project.

With full sincerity, I offer this heartfelt wish: may all the merit deriving from this monumental work be transferred to the Buddhas, the bodhisattvas, and all sentient beings.

Haebong Jaseung (海峰 慈乘)
33rd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism
President, Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought
January 20, 2010 (2554th year of the Buddhist Era)

Preface to the English Edition of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*

Buddhism has nearly a 1,700-year history in Korea and the tradition continues to thrive still today on the peninsula. Buddhism arrived in Korea from India and China by at least the fourth century C.E. and the religion served as the major conduit for the transmission of Sinitic and Serindian culture as a whole to Korea. But Korean Buddhism is no mere derivative of those antecedent traditions. Buddhists on the Korean peninsula had access to the breadth and depth of the Buddhist tradition as it was being disseminated across Asia and they made seminal contributions themselves to Buddhist thought and meditative and ritual techniques. Indeed, because Korea, like the rest of East Asia, used literary Chinese as the lingua franca of learned communication (much as Latin was used in medieval Europe), Korean Buddhist writings were disseminated throughout the entire region with relative dispatch and served to influence the development of the neighboring Buddhist traditions of China and Japan. In fact, simultaneous with implanting Buddhism on the peninsula, Korean monks and exegetes were also joint collaborators in the creation and development of the indigenous Chinese and Japanese Buddhist traditions. *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* seeks to make available in accurate, idiomatic English translations the greatest works of the Korean Buddhist tradition, many of which are being rendered for the first time into any Western language.

The thirteen volumes of this anthology collect the whole panoply of Korean Buddhist writing from the Three Kingdoms period (ca. 57 C.E.–668) through the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). These writings include commentaries on scriptures as well as philosophical and disciplinary texts by the most influential scholiasts of the tradition; the writings of its most esteemed Seon adepts; indigenous collections of Seon *gongan* cases, discourses, and verse; travelogues and historical materials; and important epigraphical compositions. Where titles were of manageable length, we have sought to provide the complete text of those works. Where size was prohibitive, we have instead offered representative selections from a range

of material, in order to provide as comprehensive a set of sources as possible for the study of Korean Buddhism. The translators and editors also include extensive annotation to each translation and substantial introductions that seek to contextualize for an English-speaking audience the insights and contributions of these works.

Many of the scholars of Korean Buddhism active in Western academe were recruited to participate in the translation project. Since the number of scholars working in Korean Buddhism is still quite limited, we also recruited as collaborators Western specialists in literary Chinese who had extensive experience in English translation.

We obviously benefitted enormously from the work of our Korean colleagues who toiled so assiduously to prepare the earlier Korean edition of these *Collected Works*. We regularly consulted their vernacular Korean renderings in preparing the English translations. At the same time, virtually all the Western scholars involved in the project are themselves specialists in the Buddhist argot of literary Chinese and most already had extensive experience in translating Korean and Chinese Buddhist texts into English. For this reason, the English translations are, in the majority of cases, made directly from the source texts in literary Chinese, not from the modern Korean renderings. Since translation always involves some level of interpretation, there are occasional differences in the understanding of a passage between the English and Korean translators, but each translator retained final authority to decide on the preferred rendering of his or her text. For most of the English volumes, we also followed the collaborative approach that was so crucial in preparing the Korean translations of these *Collected Works* and held series of meetings where the English translators would sit together with our Korean counterparts and talk through issues of terminology, interpretation, and style. Our Korean collaborators offered valuable comments and suggestions on our initial drafts and certainly saved us from many egregious errors. Any errors of fact or interpretation that may remain are of course our responsibility.

On behalf of the entire English translation team, I would like to express our thanks to all our collaborators, including our translators Juhn Young

Ahn, Robert Buswell, Michael Finch, Jung-geun Kim, Charles Muller, John Jorgensen, Richard McBride, Jin Y. Park, Young-eui Park, Patrick R. Uhlmann, Sem Vermeersch, Matthew Wegehaupt, and Roderick Whitfield; as well as our philological consultants Chongdok Sunim, Go-Ok Sunim, Haeju Sunim, Misan Sunim, Woncheol Sunim, Byung-sam Jung, and Young-wook Kim. We are also appreciative to Ven. Jaseung Sunim, the current president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, for his continued support of this project. Our deepest gratitude goes to Ven. Jikwan Sunim (May 11, 1932–January 2, 2012), one of the most eminent monks and prominent scholars of his generation, who first conceived of this project and spearheaded it during his term as president of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Jikwan Sunim's entire career was dedicated to making the works of Korean Buddhism more accessible to his compatriots and better known within the wider scholarly community. It is a matter of deep regret that he did not live to see the compilation of this English version of the *Collected Works*.

Finally, it is our hope that *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* will ensure that the writings of Korean Buddhist masters will assume their rightful place in the developing English canon of Buddhist materials and will enter the mainstream of academic discourse in Buddhist Studies in the West. Korea's Buddhist authors are as deserving of careful attention and study as their counterparts in Indian, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhism. This first comprehensive collection of Korean Buddhist writings should bring these authors the attention and sustained engagement they deserve among Western scholars, students, and practitioners of Buddhism.

Robert E. Buswell, Jr.
Distinguished Professor of Buddhist Studies, University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
Chair, English Translation Editorial Board, *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*
May 20, 2012 (2556th year of the Buddhist Era)

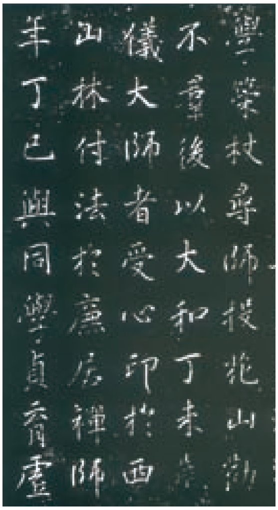
Stele Inscription for the Numinous Stupa of the Sŏn Master posthumously titled Pojo, at Porim Monastery on Mt. Kaji, Silla country

(above) Stupa and stele (National treasures no. 157 and 158, at Porim Monastery in Changhŭng)
(below) Left: Rubbing of dragon-motif capital heading, Right: Rubbing of stele inscription









Stele Inscription for the late Sŏn Master Chin'gam (posthumous title bestowed by royal order) of Ssanggye Monastery on Mt. Chiri, Silla country in the Tang period

(left) Stele inscription (National treasure no. 47, at Ssanggye Monastery in Hadong)
(right) Rubbing of the stele inscription





Stele Inscription of the Paegwŏl Pogwang Stupa for the Great Master posthumously titled Nanghye, former National Preceptor of Two Courts, Silla country in the Tang period

(left) Stele inscription (National treasure no. 8, on site of Sŏngju Monastery in Namp'o)
(right) Rubbing of the stele inscription





Stele Inscription of the Chadŭng Stupa for the posthumously titled Great Master Pŏpkyŏng, former abbot at Chŏngt'o Monastery on Mt. Kaech'ŏn in Chungwŏn Superior Prefecture of the Koryŏ

(left) Stele inscription (National treasure no. 71, on site of Chŏngt'o Monastery in Ch'ungju)
(right) Rubbing of the stele inscription



Stele Inscription of the Hyejin Stupa for the posthumously titled Great Master Wŏnjong, the late National Preceptor at Kodal Cloister on Mt. Hyemok in Kwangju, Koryŏ country

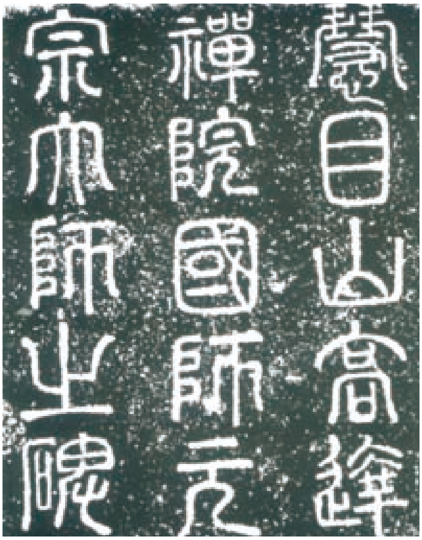
(above) Stupa, and dragon-motif capstone and tortoise plinth (National treasure no. 6, on site of Kodal Monastery in Yoju)

(below) Left: Rubbing of the stele inscription, Right: Rubbing of the capital heading









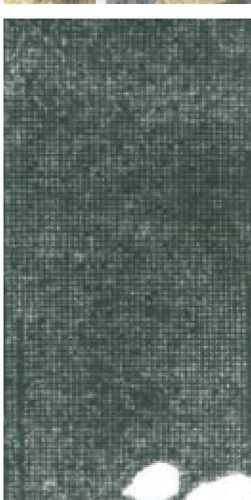
Stele Inscription of the Posŭng Stupa for the Triply Exalted Great Master posthumously titled Pŏbin, late National Preceptor, at Powŏn Monastery on Mt. Kaya in Unju, Koryŏ country

(above) Stupa inscription and stupa (National Treasures no. 106 and 105, on site of Powŏn Monastery in Sŏsan)

(below) Left: Rubbing of the stele inscription, Right: Rubbing of the capital heading









Stele Inscription of the Hyŏnmyo Stupa for the posthumously titled National Preceptor Chi'gwang, Lecturer about the truth, propagator of the path, who achieved clear comprehension and sudden awakening, upheld the precepts correctly, of excelling subtlety, worthy of awakening, investigator of the arcane source of the path, the ridgepole of the Dharma, who thoroughly saved sentient beings and (reached) the profound depths, endowed with practice and had realized the nature (of the mind), and who was full of radiance and penetrating clarity, at Pŏpch'ŏn Monastery in Wŏnju, Koryŏ country

(above) Stupa inscription and stupa (National treasures no. 59 and 101, in Kyŏngbok Palace)
(below) Left: Rubbing of the stele inscription, Right: Rubbing of the capital heading





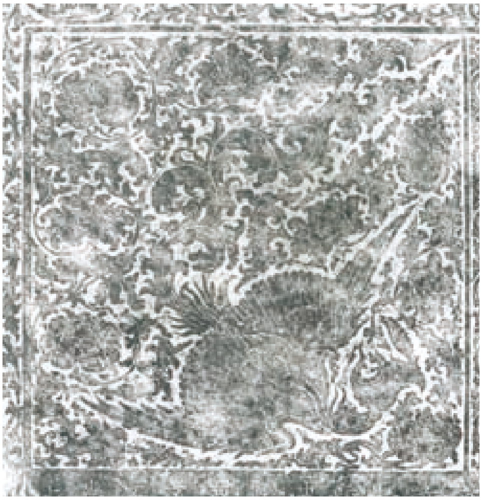




Stele Inscription of the National Preceptor posthumously titled Taegak at the Great Hwaŏm Yŏngt'ong Monastery on Mt. Ogwan, Koryŏ country

(above) Stupa inscription (Yŏngt'ong Monastery in Kaesŏng)
(below) Rubbing of the phoenix motif on the side of the stele





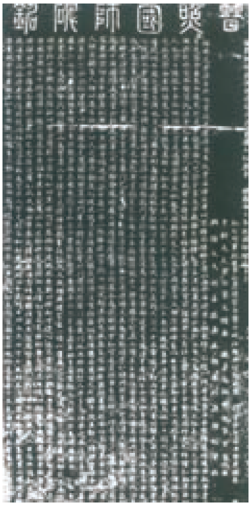
Stele for National Preceptor Puril Pojo at Songgwang Monastery on Mt. Chogye in Sŭngp'yŏng Superior Prefecture

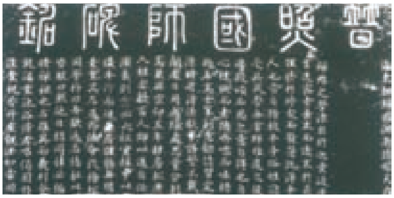
(above) Stupa and stele (City and provincial cultural property nos 256 and 91 at Songgwang Monastery in Sunch'ŏn)

(below) Left: Rubbing of the stele inscription, Right: Rubbing of the capital heading









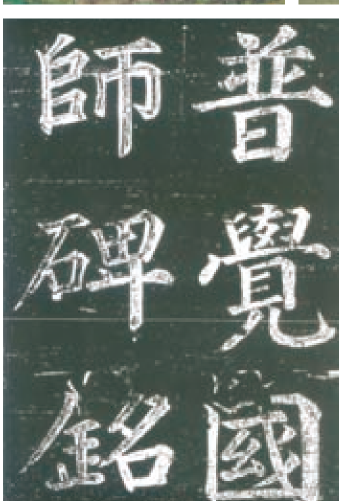
Stele Inscription of the State Venerable Pogak of In'gak Monastery of the Chogye School and affiliated with Kaji-san, on Mt. Hwa, Koryŏ country

(above) Stupa and parts of the stele (National treasure no. 428 at In'gak Monastery in Kunwi)

(below) Left: Rubbing of the capital heading, Right: Rubbing of the stele inscription









Stele Inscription of the Stupa for the National Preceptor of the Koryŏ State,
the Great Master of the Whole Country, Venerable Mahāsiddhara Riyung, Heir to the Great Patriarch of Caoxi, (recipient of) the transmission of the Buddha's Mind Seal, whose practice and understanding is subtle and majestic, whose compassion and wisdom is perfectly interfused, assistant manager of the royal transformation, supporter of the tenets and upholder of the teaching, who made the great vow for universal salvation, posthumously titled Wŏnjŭng

(left) Stupa-stele (National treasure no. 611 at T'aego Monastery in Yangju)
(right) Rubbing of the stele inscription





Stele Inscription of Great Master Hyujŏng, the Venerable Sŏsan Ch'ŏnghŏ, a venerable monk holder of a state-conferred title of Poje, Supreme Supervisor of the Sŏn and Kyo Schools, supporter of the tenets and upholder of the teaching, titled Great Sŏn Master of the entire country, Chosŏn country in the Ming period

(below) Stupa inscription and stupa (Paekhwa Hermitage, P'yohun Monastery, Hoeyang)





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Acknowledgements

This concluding volume of the series *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* underwent several vicissitudes in the process of its making.

Stele inscriptions are notorious for their sophisticated and recondite style, characterized by frequent references and cryptic allusions to Chinese classical literature. It seems as if the authors of stele inscriptions for eminent Buddhist monks felt compelled to match the arcane and subtle mind of the awakened masters with their own complex and convoluted diction.

Translating these inscriptions amounts to a strenuous task requiring specialized knowledge reaching far beyond Buddhist Studies as such. In its initial stage, the translation project was commenced by Professor Kim Jeong-Geun, a specialist in English literature and a devoted Buddhist. But unfortunately, his declining health prevented him from proceeding and the project stagnated. It was at that juncture that Venerable Go-Ok requested I join the translation project. I promptly declined due to the restraints of a full-time teaching occupation and other impending deadlines on the horizon. However, Ven. Go-Ok took upon herself an arduous trip of four hours by railway and car to meet me face-to-face and convincingly conveyed the urgent and compelling necessity to translate this volume. After having declined three times, I thus accepted.

Subsequently, I regularly attended workshops at the Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture in which I discussed my translation with Ven. Go-Ok and her team of researchers, which included Ven. Wonjae, Ven. Beopjin, Bang Jeong-Ran, Kim Hyo-Sin, and Choe Ji-Yeon. I did not have the opportunity to consult the manuscript of Professor Kim Jeong-Geun, who in the meantime had passed away. But Ven. Go-Ok, who had previously worked with him, assured me that his involvement with the inscriptions of eminent monks provided him solace and peace of mind in his last years.

For me, translating these inscriptions was both challenging and rewarding. When we were spending entire weekend afternoons in Ven. Go-Ok's office going over the inscriptions, Venerable Jikwan used to come over from his

studio across the hall to inquire, in a compassionate and unassuming way, how we were doing. He graciously and patiently took the time to answer many of my bizarre questions. I still remember vividly how he once came carrying a large *Yongsang-pang* ("Plaque of Dragons and Elephants") -a wooden plate listing the offices to be filled by the monks in residence during a retreat season- to explain me in great detail the intricacies of a traditional Korean Buddhist monastery. More than once, I also witnessed his profound erudition and phenomenal memory when, in replying to questions concerning stele inscriptions, he did not limit himself to pointing out the texts in which specific terms occurred, but also mentioned in which chapters and sections these were to be found.

Ven. Jikwan not only spent over a decade collecting, critically editing, and translating Buddhist inscriptions, but he also perpetuated and revived the tradition by compiling over thirty-five inscriptions for the stupas of modern Korean monks and nuns.

Despite his advanced age, he exuded a tremendous energy and the adamantine determination of a great Bodhisattva. Whenever I could take a furtive glimpse through the open door of his studio, I saw him writing or reading, pen and paper in hand. Although he no longer presided over the Chogye Order and dedicated his time to scholarly pursuits, his schedule remained loaded and busy. On more than one occasion I saw representative figures from finance and politics walking on tiptoes as they passed through the hall to pay their respects to him, with their bodyguards waiting outside. While I was translating inscriptions of eminent monks written in stone, Ven. Jikwan truly provided me with the privilege of witnessing an eminent monk in real time.

When he began to show signs of declining health, Ven. Go-Ok had to postpone our regular meetings at the Kasan Institute in order to attend on him. On the eve of his eightieth birthday, Ven. Jikwan composed his last will and bequeathed Ven. Go-Ok with the onerous task of presiding over the Kasan Institute, completing the remaining volumes of the *Kasan Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, and translating the additional stele inscriptions of the Chŏson and the Modern period into vernacular Korean.

Considering the special interest and meticulous scholarship that Ven. Jikwan has devoted to these inscriptions, I wish I had more time to refine my translation and add more detailed and relevant footnotes so as to honor his pioneering work. However, the unrealistic deadlines abruptly imposed by the funding agencies of the South Korean government obliged me to submit for publication what admittedly reads more like an interim progress report rather than the translation I initially intended to propose.

Literally at the very last moment, Dr Jorgensen kindly agreed to serve as the editor of this volume. He toiled through the entire manuscript within four days, correcting a plethora of errors in both translation and diction. He then also assisted with translating Ven. Jikwan's preface and continuously provided useful advice, although he simultaneously had to edit four other volumes of this series.

Although I often had to contend with Kafkaesque circumstances, translating these inscriptions was a profoundly enriching experience which allowed me to learn from many truly exceptional individuals. I express my sincere gratitude to all of them.

I hope that this volume represents a beginning and not the end: the entire corpus of monastic inscriptions deserves to be further studied and translated by both Korean and foreign scholars.

Patrick R. Uhlmann

韓國高僧碑文

ANTHOLOGY OF STELE INSCRIPTIONS OF EMINENT KOREAN BUDDHIST MONKS

INTRODUCTION

By Ven. Jikwan

Translated by Patrick R. Uhlmann & John Jorgensen

Introduction to the Stele Inscriptions of Eminent Monks

In the 1,700 years of Korean Buddhism there were many monks who succeeded to the life of wisdom of the Buddha, were guiding lights for sentient beings, and led the monastic order as the nuclei of the transmission of the Correct Dharma. Their accounts of conduct were engraved in stone. These engravings have survived at various monasteries. These stupa inscriptions can be called the religious history of the Korean people and are core elements in the cultural history of Korea. The great exploits of these eminent monks who were active at the heart of Buddhist history were beautifully and securely engraved and preserved on these stele inscriptions. These steles are also cultural relics in the sense that they epitomize their period.[1]

In order to gain an overview of the history of Buddhism it is necessary that the activities of the saṁgha members who pursued the study of doctrine and propagated it, and the history of the relationship with the state, both domestic and foreign, be studied in parallel in a synthesizing research on their mutual influence over all of its history. In order to understand the members of the saṁgha who formed the core of the Order, the most important object of study is the history of the monkhood. This history was collected and transmitted in special formats like the *Kosŭngjŏn* (Collections of hagiographies of eminent monks) for a long time. Even in that format, the records of monk biographies in East Asia transmitted in the forms of 'stele inscriptions' are linked to the epigraphical culture that has a distinctive value in that particular documentary genre, tradition, and design of the genealogical fixation of the Sŏn (Ch. Chan) School. These biographies of

[1] Yi Jikwan, preface to *Han'guk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip: Chosŏn, Kŭnhyŏndae*, Kasan Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2005.

monks have left an important legacy that encompasses the entire cultural history, which includes the history of the monastic order.

While the stele inscriptions that incorporate the careers of eminent monks have significance as primary source materials, they also have an artistic meaning as composite plastic art objects that represent their times. Most of the stele inscriptions were erected not long after the death of the monk and were set up in the open where they were available to the public. Unlike other types of texts, stele inscriptions were open and public legacies. Literati representative of their times composed the text, the dominant calligraphers of the time wrote out the text, and those artists who headed the reproductive techniques such as sculptors or carvers participated. Therefore the stupa and the stele inscription that they created had to be symbolic plastic objects that directly displayed the cultural level of the period and the capabilities of the Buddhist Order. In particular, in the period of the Silla and Koryŏ dynasties, in the cases when the stele inscriptions were for royal preceptors or national preceptors, those who were part of their construction came from all levels of the great assembly of monks, nuns, laymen and lay women. With the support of the royal family and the participation of powerful donors, resources were provided as a foundation, and on royal command the chosen carvers, engravers and others, mobilized the best artistic and construction technology. As a result, the accounts of conduct of the eminent monks who had succeeded to the life of wisdom of the buddhas and patriarchs, and who had devoted their lives to Buddhism were inscribed in stone. In this way, the stele inscriptions of eminent monks that have been written and manufactured constantly over a millennium are important materials for gaining an oversight of the history of Korean Buddhism, as well as of intellectual and cultural history.

However, the most important point is that the inscriptions are biographical source materials that enable us to trace the historical significance of Buddhism in Korean society. The stele inscriptions were originally created to extol the moral influence of their subjects. Not only did they include the detailed deeds of its subject such as the motives for his becoming a monk, the taking of the monastic precepts, his pilgrimage in search of the Way, his

succession to a Dharma rank, and his relations with his disciples, but also his master-pupil relationships within the Order, his associations, and important facts that enable us to understand the movements of Buddhism of the time such as the operation of organizations, monastic facilities, and monastic governance. On the other hand, in the cases of the achievements of the eminent monks who were in positions of national leadership, the inscriptions allow us to discern the features of the social position and roles of Buddhism in that period.

If we examine the inscriptions more carefully, besides this, the stele inscriptions of eminent monks who were active in the public domain contain much significant information structurally in the multi-layered narratives.

In recent times stele-inscription materials that include the stele inscriptions for eminent monks have been compiled and printed. These collections began with the *Haedong kŭmsŏk wŏn* (Collection of Korean Epigraphy) of the late Chosŏn period. This was followed by the *Chōsen kinseki sōran* (Complete Survey of Korean Epigraphy), *Hanguk kŭmsŏngmun ch'ubo* (Supplement to Korean Epigraphy), *Hanguk kŭmsŏk yumun* (Extant Texts of Korean Epigraphy), *Hanguk kŭmsŏk chŏnmun* (Complete Texts of Korean Epigraphy), *Hanguk kŭmsŏng taegye* (Outline of Korean Epigraphy) and so on.

This epigraphy in a proficient style of Classical Chinese and concise content has not only been primary source material for historical research, it has also been studied in the fields of survey, arts, and even general literature, along with values that influenced the age, in areas such as thought, history, doctrine, philosophy, folk customs, literature, calligraphy, and art. However, there have been almost no oversights on the issues of translation and ideology. With the exception of Katsuragi Matsuji's *Chōsen kinseki kō* (Studies of Chosŏn Epigraphy), by the 1990s there were almost no such studies. Therefore, Ven. Jikwan started a lecture series titled "Korean Buddhist Epigraphy" at the Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture founded by the author. Over ten years he collected, collated, punctuated, and formatted the stele inscriptions of eminent monks. Following that, he critically edited, translated, and annotated them, and published the results in a six-volume

series, the *Kyogam yŏkchu yŏktae kosŭng pimun* (Critically Edited, Translated, and Annotated Stele Inscriptions of Eminent Monks through Korean History), which is part of the *Collected Works of Critically Edited, Translated and Collated Korean Buddhist Epigraphy* series.

All of the stele inscriptions of the eminent monks of the Silla and Koryŏ periods, and some of the inscriptions of the Chosŏn period, are translated and annotated in the six-volume series.[2] The result was that the work of detailed translation and annotation of eleven stele inscriptions of eminent monks of the Silla period, eighty-three inscriptions and tomb epitaphs of eminent monks of the Koryŏ period, and twenty-three stele inscriptions of eminent monks of the Chosŏn period, a total of 117 inscriptions, were completed. Moreover, the many stele inscriptions of eminent monks of the Chosŏn period that could not be included were published in 2000. They were collected in the Chosŏn and Modern volume of the *Hanguk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip* (*Collected Works of Critically Edited, Translated and Collated Korean Buddhist Epigraphy*) that surveyed the materials of the various regions of Korea, collected them, and edited them.[3] The *Collected Works* contains 332 stele inscriptions of eminent monks. Among them are 207 stele inscriptions of eminent monks of the traditional period who died before 1910.

The positions of the monks for whom there are inscriptions differ according to their period. Although it is difficult to definitely define the positions of the eminent monks for whom stele inscriptions were erected in the Silla period, they were undoubtedly members of the ruling class inside and outside the Buddhist Order. In the Koryŏ period, when these monks received the honor of being appointed national preceptor, state venerable or royal preceptor, almost all had stele inscriptions made for

2 Yi Jikwan, *Kyogam yŏkchu yŏktae kosŭng pimun*, Silla compilation, Koryŏ volumes 1, 2, 3, 4, and Chosŏn period 1, Kasan Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, and 1998 respectively.

3 Yi Jikwan, *Hanguk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip*, Chosŏn Dynasty and Modern Period volume, Kasan Pulgyo munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2000.

them. On the other hand, in the mid-Koryŏ period, stele inscriptions and also tomb epitaphs were made for monks who had great influence on the masses, even though they were not national preceptors. There were, however, differences in the commemorative objects according to the efforts of the creators and builders, as well as the positions of the monks. In particular, during the Silla and Koryŏ periods, when most of the eminent monks passed away their monk and lay disciples petitioned the king that their teacher be granted a posthumous title. The king would then issue an edict bestowing a posthumous title as well as a title for the stupa of that monk. It was customary for the king to have his close ministers facilitate the creation of the stele inscription.[4] Unlike during the Koryŏ period when Buddhism embodied the ideal of national guidance, in the Chosŏn period the power of Buddhism was greatly curtailed. Then, after a monk passed away, his monastic disciples would draft an account of conduct and request a literatus with whom the monk had connections to write a stele inscription. Then the disciples and donors would erect the stele. In this way, during the Chosŏn period, one can see specific differences in the size and forms of the stupa and the stele, and in the length of the inscription, all due to the sincerity of the later-generation disciples and the power of the donors. Although these Chosŏn-period steles cannot be compared to the steles of the eminent monks of the national preceptor rank of the Koryŏ period that were erected with the active support of the royal family and the builders who were powerful disciples and influential laity, due to the exertions and sincerity of the disciples in the Buddhist domain during the Chosŏn period, over two hundred accounts of conduct of eminent monks have survived.

There are twelve stele inscriptions of eminent monks representative of Korean Buddhism from the Silla through to the Chosŏn period selected and

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[4] Chŏng Pyŏng-sam, "Koryŏ kosŭng pimun yŏkchu ŭi kwaje wa panghyang" (The tendencies and problems of the translation of eminent monks of the Koryŏ), *Koryŏ-sidae ŭi yŏn'gu* 1, Hanguk Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 2000, p. 12.

published in the authoritative *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*. These are, for the Silla period:

Changhŭng Porim-sa Pojo Sŏnsa Ch'angsŏng-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Ch'angsŏng Stupa of Sŏn Master Pojo at Porim Monastery in Changhŭng)

Hadong Ssanggye-sa Chin'gam kuksa Taegong yŏng-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of Taegong, the Numinous Stupa of Sŏn Master Chin'gam at Ssanggye Monastery in Hadong)

Namp'o Sŏngju-sa Nanghye hwasang Paegwŏl Pogwang-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Paegwŏl Pogwang Stupa for the Great Master posthumously titled Nanghye at Sŏngju Monastery in Namp'o)

For the Koryŏ period:

Ch'ungju Chŏngt'o-sa Pŏpkyŏng taesa Chadŭng-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Chadŭng Stupa for the posthumously titled Great Master Pŏpkyŏng at Chŏngt'o Monastery in Ch'ungju)

Yŏju Kodal-wŏn Wŏnjong taesa Hyejin-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Hyejin Stupa for the Great Master Wŏnjong at Kodal Cloister on Mt. Hyemok)

Haemi Powŏn-sa Pŏbin kuksa Posŭng-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Posŭng Stupa for the National Preceptor Pŏbin at Powŏn Monastery in Haemi)

Wŏnju Pŏpch'ŏn-sa Chi'gwang kuksa Hyŏnmo-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Hyŏnmo Stupa for National Preceptor Chi'gwang at Pŏpch'ŏn Monastery in Wŏnju)

Kaesŏng Yŏngt'ong-sa Taegak kuksa pimun (Stele Inscription for National Preceptor Taegak at Yŏngt'ong Monastery in Kaesŏng)

Sunch'ŏn Songgwang-sa Puril Pojo kuksa pimun (Stele Inscription of the National Preceptor Puril Pojo at Songgwang Monastery in Sunch'ŏn)

Kunwi In'gak-sa Pogak kukchon Chŏngjo-t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription

of the Chŏngjo Stupa for the State Venerable of In'gak Monastery of Kunwi)

Yangju T'aego-sa Wŏnjŭng kuksa t'ap pimun (Stele Inscription of the Stupa of the National Preceptor Wŏnjŭng at T'aego Monastery in Yangju)

Chosŏn period:

Hoeyang P'yohun-sa Paekhwa-am Ch'ŏnghŏ-dang Hyujŏng taesa pimun (Stele Inscription of Venerable Ch'ŏnghŏ, the Great Master Hyujŏng, at Paekhwa Hermitage in P'yohun Monastery, Hoeyang.

The forms the stele inscriptions commonly take are centered on the rhymed inscription (*myŏng*), with a preface (*sŏ*) concerning it in prose. The preface describes the facts of the subject's life in detail. Accordingly, the heading of the stele inscription is "XX Great Master stele inscription and preface," which shows that it is composed of the rhymed inscription and a preface for that inscription. The end of the preface states, "the inscription is" or "the verse is," which commences the rhymed inscription. The rhymed inscription recapitulates the content of the prose preface in verse. On the reverse side there is the *ŭmgi* or reverse inscription which inscribes a list of names of the disciples and donors in order who participated in creating the inscription.

The accounts of conduct in the stele inscriptions of the eminent monks, especially those of the late Silla to early Koryŏ period, display a set form (see the table below). They are constituted as follows: The monk is born due to a miraculous conception into a meritorious and excellent family. He has an unusual upbringing and develops an aspiration (to become a monk), seeks out an excellent teacher and enters into the Buddhist Order as a monk. He succeeds to the superior Dharma-connection, and having practiced, attains enlightenment. Having taught the great assembly extensively, he passes into nirvana. He has many admirers. For eminent monks who studied in China and transmitted the Dharma lineage, an itinerary of their trip to China in search of the Dharma is added.

The first half of the introductory part of the preface in prose describes the tenets that are the basis for the characteristic thought of the subject or a typical summary of Buddhism. For Sŏn masters, after describing in brief the tenets of Sŏn, the preface enters into the narrative of the life of the master. Although the last half of the preface mostly describes the circumstances of the compilation of the stele inscription together with the events of the erection of the stele, occasionally this is also elucidated in the introductory section.

The twelve eminent monks who are the subjects of the stele inscriptions that have been selected and published in this book cover the representative Sŏn masters who introduced the Sŏn School into Silla, the eminent monks of the Koryŏ who were prominent in both Sŏn and Doctrine and played central roles inside and outside the Buddhist Order, plus the eminent monks of the mid-to-late Koryŏ period who promoted new ideas and led the Order, and the eminent monk of the late Chosŏn who was counted as a luminary of the Buddhist realm. These were eminent monks representative of the period.

Monk	**Pojo Ch'ejing**	**Chin'gam Hyeso**	**Nanghye Muyŏm**	**Pŏpkyŏng Hyŏnhui**	**Wŏnjong Ch'anyu**	**Pŏbin T'anmun**
dates	804–880	784–850	800–888	879–921	869–958	900–975
year erected	884	887	post 890	943	975	978
inscription length	34 lines	39 lines	58 lines	41 lines	42 lines	46 lines
title, author	1–2	1–2	1–2	1–3	1–2	1–2
Preface	**3–28**	**3–29**	**3–52**	**4–38**	**3–40**	**3–43**
introduction	3–7	3–7	3–9	3–10	3–4	3–4
family, birth, upbringing	7–9	7–11	9–16	11–13	4–6	4–5
ordination, practice	9–13	11	16–18	13–19	7–10	5–11
overseas study	13–14	11–15	18–24	19–23	10–14	11–33
teaching	14–22	15–23	24–43	23–32	14–29	33–43
death, stupa stele erection	22–28	23–25	43–48	32–36	29–36	
memory, admiration		26–35	48–52	36–38	36–40	

Rhymed inscription	29–32	36–38	53–57	39–40	41–42	44–46
day of erection, engraver	33–34	39	58	41	42	46
Reverse inscription				o	o	
author	Kim Yŏng	Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn	Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn	Ch'oe Ŏn-wi	Kim Chŏng-ŏn	Kim Chŏng-ŏn
calligrapher	Kim wŏn et al.	Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn	Ch'oe In-yon	Ku chok-tal	Chang Tan-yŏl	Han Yun

monk	**Chi'gwang Haerin**	**Taegak Ŭich'ŏn**	**Pojo Chinul**	**Pogak Iryŏn**	**Wŏnjŭng Pou**	**Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng**
dates	984–1070	1055–1101	1158–1210	1206–1289	1301–1382	1520–1604
year erected	1085	1125	1213	1295	1385	1632
inscription length	43 lines	51 lines	36 lines	35 lines	31 lines	26 lines
title, author	1–3	1–3	1–4	1–2	1–3	1–3
Preface	**4–39**	**4–46**	**5–32**	**3–31**	**4–28**	**4–46**
introduction	4–6	4–6	5–7	3–4	4–5	4–8
family, birth, upbringing	6–11	6–7	7–8	4–6	5–6	8–11
ordination, practice	11–15	7–12	8–15	6–9	6–9	11–13
overseas study		12–25			9–13	
teaching	15–34	26–33	15–22	9–18	13–23	13–17
death, stupa stele erection	34–39	33–35	22–26	18–25	23–26	17–19
memory, admiration		35–46	26–32	26–31	26–28	19–22
Rhymed inscription	40–43	47–51	33–35	32–35	29–30	23–25
day of erection, engraver	43		36	35	31	26
Reverse inscription	o	o	o	o	o	o
author	Chŏng Yu-san	Kim Pu-sik	Kim Kun-su	Min Chi	Yi Saek	Yi Chŏng-gwi
calligrapher	An Min-hu	O Ŏn-hu	Yu Sin	style of Wang Xizhi	Kwŏn Chu	Sin Ik-sŏng

Locations of Stele Inscriptions



1. Stele Inscription of Pojo Ch'ejing at Porim-sa, in Changhŭng
(長興 寶林寺 普照禪師 彰聖塔碑文)
2. Stele Inscription of Chin'gam Hyeso at Ssanggye-sa, in Hadong
(河東 雙谿寺 眞鑒禪師 大空靈塔碑文)
3. Stele Inscription of Nanghye Muyŏm at Sŏngju-sa, in Namp'o
(藍浦 聖住寺 朗慧和尙白月葆光塔碑文)
4. Stele Inscription of Pŏpkyŏng Hyŏhui at Chŏngt'o-sa, in Ch'ungju
(忠州 淨土寺 法鏡大師 慈燈塔碑文)
5. Stele Inscription of Wŏnjong Ch'anyu at Kodal-wŏn, in Yŏju
(驪州 高達院 元宗大師 惠眞塔碑文)
6. Stele Inscription of Pŏbin T'anmun at Powŏn-sa, in Haemi
(海美 普願寺 法印國師 寶乘塔碑文)
7. Stele Inscription of Chi'gwang Haerin at Pŏpch'ŏn-sa, in Wŏnju
(原州 法泉寺 智光國師 玄妙塔碑文)
8. Stele Inscription of Taegak Ŭich'ŏn at Yŏnt'ong-sa, in Kaesŏng
(開城 靈通寺 大覺國師碑文)
9. Stele Inscription of Pojo Chinul at Songgwang-sa, in Sunch'ŏn
(順天 松廣寺 佛日普照國師碑文)
10. Stele Inscription of Pogak Iryŏn at In'gak-sa, in Kunwi
(軍威 麟角寺 普覺國尊 靜照塔碑文)
11. Stele Inscription of Wŏnjŭng Pou at T'aego-sa, in Yangju
(楊州 太古寺 圓證國師 塔碑文)
12. Stele Inscription of Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng at P'yohun-sa Paekhwa-am, in Hoeyang
(淮陽 表訓寺 白華庵 淸虛堂 休靜大師碑文)

Appendix: Stele Inscriptions of Korean Nuns

① Stele Inscription of the Nun Sasin Nak'am-dang at Singye-sa, in Kosŏng
(高城 神溪寺 比丘尼 洛庵堂思信碑文)

② Text of the Stele of the female Great Master, the Nun Chŏng'yu, at Pohyŏn-sa in Yŏngbyŏn (寧邊 普賢寺 比丘尼 定有女大師碑文)

③ Text of the Stele Commemorating the Virtuous Deeds of the bhikṣuṇī Seman at Naejang-sa in Chŏng'ŏp (井邑 內藏寺 比丘尼 世萬功德記念碑文)

Summaries of the Twelve Stele Inscriptions

1. Stele Inscription of Pojo Ch'ejing

▶ Erected 884 (10th year of King Hŏn'gang of Silla) • National treasure no. 158 • Size: overall height 3.46 m • Location: Porim Monastery, Pongdŏng-ni, Yuch'i-myŏn, Changhŭng-gun, Chŏlla Namdo • Author: Kim Yŏng • Calligraphers: Kim Wŏn for regular style, Kim Ŏn-gyŏng for cursive script • Text engraver: Hyŏn Ch'ang

This is a stele for Ch'ejing, the Sŏn Master Pojo that was erected alongside the Ch'angsŏng Stupa of Sŏn Master Pojo at Porim Monastery in Changhŭng. The tortoise-shaped plinth, the dragon-motif capstone, and the heading are completely intact, and so it retains a model epigraphic form. The surface of the stele inscription is in good condition for even today many of the characters can be deciphered.

Sŏn Master Pojo was born in 804 (5th year of King Aejang) into the Kim clan of Ungjin. He studied in the school of Dharma Master Kwŏn and he received the full precepts at the age of twenty-four [all ages in this introduction are in the East Asian system, which can differ slightly from that now in common usage]. He studied under Reverend Yŏmgŏ at Ŏksŏng Monastery on Mt. Sŏrak and received the transmission of the Dharma-seal. In 837 he went to study in China, and after returning to Silla in 840 he taught actively. In 858 he went to reside in Hwanghak Hermitage in Muju, and at the invitation of the king he shifted to Mt. Kaji Monastery (after his death its name was changed to Porim Monastery) where he practiced. In 858, with the donations from Kim Su-jong and King Hŏn'gang he had a statue of Vairocana cast in iron and installed at Porim Monastery. He died at the age of seventy-seven in 880 (6th year of King Hŏn'gang). He is revered as the founding patriarch of the Mt. Kaji School, one of the Nine Mountain branches of the Sŏn School. By tracing back the lineage from Sŏn Master Pojo to Yŏmgŏ, and from Yŏmgŏ we reach the Sŏn Master Toŭi, who first introduced the Southern School of Chan into Korea. Therefore Sŏn Master Pojo is also revered as a member of

the Sŏn School. Even in his stele inscription, Sŏn Master Pojo is described as the third patriarch of the Sŏn School in Korea. His stele was erected four years after his death in 884 (10th year of King Hŏn'gang). This was at a time earlier than stele inscriptions were erected for his monk predecessors.

The inscription has the distinctive feature of having been written out with a division of labor between two calligraphers, Kim Wŏn and Kim Ŏn-gyŏng. Thus the stele surface is engraved in two calligraphic styles. This stele is important material for understanding the founding of the Mt. Kaji school, its succession ritual, and the formation of the Sŏn School in late Silla.

2. Stele Inscription of Chin'gam Hyeso

▶ Erected in 887 (1st year of Queen Chinsŏng of Silla) • National treasure no. 47 • Size: overall height 3.63 m, body of the stele, height 2.13 m, width 1.03 m • Location: Ssanggye Monastery, Unsuri, Hwagae-myŏn, Hadong-gun, Kyŏngsan Namdo • Author: Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn • Calligrapher: Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, regular script • Text engraver: Hwan Yŏng.

This is the stele for Hyeso, Sŏn Master Chin'gam, erected at Ssanggye Monastery in Hadong. The stupa for Sŏn Master Chin'gam is situated in the vicinity, a short distance away from the stele. The stele has a tortoise-plinth and a dragon-motif capstone. The characters on the stele surface are preserved clearly, but one part is damaged, and has been broken into three large sections. It has been held together and protected with an iron frame.

Sŏn Master Chin'gam was a descendant of the Ch'oe clan of Kŭmma. He was born in 774 (10th year of King Hyegong). When young he worked selling fish to support his parents. He went to study in China in 804 and received an imprimatur from Great Master Shenjian. He received the full precepts at Shaolin Monastery in 810. He met Toŭi and they practiced together, then he shifted to Mt. Zhongnan where he continued his practice. He returned to Silla in 830 where he taught at Changbaek Monastery in Sangju. Then he shifted to Hwagae Valley on Mt. Chiri where he taught.

In 838, King Min'ae granted him the title Hyeso. He rebuilt Okch'ŏn Monastery (after his death the king granted it the signboard Ssanggye Monastery) and resided there. He passed away at the age of seventy-seven in 850 (12th year of King Munsŏng). Besides his teaching style as a Sŏn master, Chin'gam also showed an outstanding ability in Buddhist chanting.

Although Ssanggye Monastery, where Sŏn Master Chin'gam was active, was not recognized as one of the branches of Nine Mountains Sŏn, at the end of the Silla dynasty, Master Kŭngyang of the Hŭiyang Mountain branch declared himself a great-grandson in the Dharma lineage from Hyeso, professing himself to be an heir to the lineage of that mountain school (that of Ssanggye Monastery). As the only stele directly written by the author, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, in the graceful calligraphic style of Ouyang Xun, it has been highly valued.

3. Stele Inscription of Nanghye Muyŏm

▶ Erected after 890 (4th year of Queen Chinsŏng of Silla) • National treasure no. 8 • Size: overall height 4.55 m, body of the stele 2.51 m high, 1.48 m wide • Location: site of Sŏngju Monastery, Sŏngju-ri, Sŏngju-myŏn, Poryŏng-si, Ch'ungch'ong Namdo • Author: Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn • Calligrapher: Ch'oe In-yŏn • Text engraver: unknown.

This is the stele for Muyŏm, the Reverend Nanghye that is on the site of Sŏngju Monastery in Poryŏng. The stupa of Reverend Nanghye has not survived. The stele is large, with a tortoise-plinth and a dragon-motif capstone. The stele inscription is comprised of 5,120 characters and so is one of the longest stele inscriptions in history. Apart from worn-away characters, the characters can be deciphered and so it is a stele in good condition.

Reverend Nanghye was a member of the Kim clan and an eighth-generation descendant of King Muyŏl. In particular, the stele inscription records that his parents were demoted from the status of *chingol* rank to the six-head rank. Thus it offers important data on the status system of Silla. Born in 800 (1st year of King Aejang), he became a monk at age thirteen at Osaeksŏk

Monastery. After studying under Sŏn Master Pŏpsŏng, he learned Hwaŏm at Pusŏk Monastery, and around 821 (13th year of King Hŏndŏk), he went to study in China. There he asked about the Way from Ruman at Foguang Monastery, and he later met Magu Baoche and received his imprimatur. He returned to Silla in 845 (7th year of King Munsŏng), and around 847 he built Sŏngju Monastery where he taught. In 871 King Kyŏngmun invited him to the palace and made him his religious teacher and had him live in Simmyo Monastery in Sangju. He later resided at Sŏngju Monastery when King Hŏn'gang ordered him to appear again at the palace to give lectures on Buddhism. He passed away in 888 (2nd year of Queen Chinsŏng) at the age of eighty-nine, and two years after his death his stele was set up.

The stele inscription was written by Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, and as a character used to avoid the taboo name of a Koryŏ king appears in the stele inscription, it has been inferred that for some reason or other, the stele was actually erected in the early Koryŏ. The stele inscription says that there was also a stele for Reverend Nanghye at Simmyo Monastery erected by King Hŏn'gang besides that at Sŏngju Monastery.

4. Stele Inscription of Pŏpkyŏng Hyŏnhui

▶ Erected in 943 (26th year of T'aejo of Koryŏ) • National treasure no. 17 • Size: overall height 3.22 m, width 1.5 m, depth 31 cm • Location: site of Chŏngt'o Monastery, Hach'ŏn-ni, Tongnyang-myŏn, Ch'ungju-si, Ch'ungchŏng Pukto • Author: Ch'oe Ŏn-wi • Calligrapher: Ku Chok-tal, regular script • Text engavers: the monks Kwangye, Changch'o, Haengch'ong, and Haengcho

This is the stele for Hyŏnhwi, the Great Master Pŏpkyŏng that is on the site of Chŏngt'o Monastery in Ch'ungju. The original location of the stele was drowned due to the construction of Ch'ungju Dam, and so it was shifted to a place nearby. It has the tortoise-plinth and dragon-motif capstone, but the inscription surface bears the marks of many bullets, damaging the text.

Great Master Pŏpkyŏng was born into the Yi clan in Namwŏn in 879 (5th

year of King Hŏn'gang), and after becoming a monk under Great Master Simgwang at Yŏnggak-san Monastery, at the age of twenty he received the full mSŏnonastic precepts. He practiced Sŏn, and in 906 he went to Tang-dynasty China, where he received the Dharma of Jiufeng Daoqian. After traveling around to visit masters in various regions, he returned to Korea in 924. T'aejo (Wang Kŏn) of Koryŏ made him National Preceptor, and he was active in teaching at Chŏngt'o Monastery. He received the patronage of Yu Kwŏn-yŏl, a member of a powerful regional clan. Pŏpkyŏng passed away at the age of sixty-three in 941 (24th year of T'aejo).

Great Master Pŏpkyŏng was important in the history of Buddhist thought in early Koryŏ, for he has been assessed as having an intellectual tendency to unite Sŏn and Doctrine. The reverse inscription records the names of many monks and lay people, and is also used as research material on the regional governance of early Koryŏ and the monastic posts such as the three monastery directors [abbot, chief monk, and secretary; or abbot, senior monk, and deacon] and the monk-officials.

5. Stele Inscription of Wŏnjong Ch'anyu

▶ Erected in 975 (26th year of Kwangjong of Koryŏ) • Treasure no. 6 • Size: height 2.79 m, width 1.60 m, depth 33 cm, size of characters 2.1 cm • Original location: site of Kodal Monastery, Sanggyo-ri, Pungnae-myŏn, Yŏju-gun, Kyŏnggi-do • Current location: National Central Museum • Author: Kim Chŏng-ŏn • Calligrapher: Chang Tan-yŏl, regular script • Text engraver: Yi Chŏng-sun

This is the stele for Ch'anyu, the Great Master Wŏnjong that had been located on the site of Kodal Monastery in Yŏju. The large, finely-carved tortoise-plinth and dragon-motif capstone remain on the original site, but the body of the stele was broken into eight pieces and these have been preserved in the National Central Museum. Apart from the broken parts, the characters can be read. The stupa of Great Master Wŏnjong remains on the site of Kodal Monastery a little separated from the original site of the stele.

Great Master Wŏnjong was born in 869 (9th year of King Kyŏngmun) into the Kim clan of Hanam. He studied under Sŏn Master Yungje of Samnang Monastery, and at Yungje's urging, he studied under Simhŭi of Mt. Hyemok. He received the full precepts at the age of twenty-two, left his teacher, and practiced at Songgye Sŏn Cloister in Kwangju. In 892 he crossed over to Tang-dynasty China, succeeded to the Dharma of Touzi Datong, and went on pilgrimage to seek the Way from masters in various regions. He returned to Koryŏ in 921. He met T'aejo (Wang Kŏn) and they formed a linkage through the Dharma, and he promoted the Sŏn style on Mt. Hyemok. He received the patronage of kings Hyejong and Chŏngjong, and in the reign of King Kwangjong he was appointed National Preceptor and was very active. He passed away at the age of ninety in 958 (9th year of Kwangjong). The stele was erected seventeen years after the Great Master's death, and two years after that in 977 (2nd year of Kyŏngjong) the reverse inscription was engraved.

Great Master Wŏnjong was an eminent monk at the heart of the developments in Buddhist history of early Koryŏ centered on the reign of King Kwangjong. The stele's record that Kodal Cloister, along with Hŭiyang Cloister and Tobong Cloister were valued as three immovable cloisters is important material for understanding the Buddhist Order of early Koryŏ. Also, the concrete record that the posts of the three directors of the monastery were involved in the establishment of the stupa inscription is significant.

6. Stele Inscription of Pŏbin T'anmun

▶ Erected in 978 (3rd year of Kyŏngjong of Koryŏ) • Treasure no. 106 • Size: overall height 4.25 m, body of the stele, height 2.40 m, width 1.16 m, depth 29 cm, size of characters 1.5 cm • Location: site of Powŏn Monastery, Yonghyŏn-ni, Unsan-myŏn, Sŏsan-si, Ch'ungchŏng Namdo • Author: Kim Chŏng-ŏn • Calligrapher: Han Yun, regular script • Text engraver: Kim Sŭng-nyŏm

This is the stele for T'anmun, National Preceptor Pŏbin that is on the site

of Powŏn Monastery in Sŏsan. It stands alongside the stupa for National Preceptor Pŏbin. The tortoise-plinth and dragon-motif capstone are well preserved and the stele forms a pair with the monk's stupa, displaying an exemplary form of a stupa inscription.

The National Preceptor was born in 900 (4th year of King Hyogong) and was an eminent monk of the Hwaŏm School who learned Hwaŏm doctrine from Sin'ŏm of Chang'ŭi Monastery. He received the full precepts at the age of fifteen. He supervised the monastic examinations conducted by T'aejo in 921 and he prayed so that Kwangjong was born, thereby forming a deep linkage in the Dharma with Kwangjong. He lectured on Hwaŏm at Kuryong-san Monastery, and in 942 he lectured on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* in order to keep disasters at bay. King Hyejong installed him as his teacher and Kwangjong had Kwibŏp Monastery built for him and made him abbot there. In his last years he was appointed National Preceptor. National Preceptor Pŏbin returned to Powŏn Monastery and passed away there in 975 (26th year of Kwangjong) at the age of seventy-six.

This stele was erected three years after his demise (in 978, 3rd year of Kyŏngjong). It is important material for understanding that in early Koryŏ, when the Sŏn School was dominant, that the Hwaŏm School was at the center of changes in Buddhism in which the activities of the doctrinal schools increased. The situation of those times when Dharma rank was valued following the institution of the monastic examinations can be seen from the introduction of the rank of Triply Exalted Great Master into the capital heading of the stele.

7. Stele Inscription of Chi'gwang Haerin

▶ Erected in 1085 (2nd year of Sŏnjong of Koryŏ) • National treasure no. 59 • Size: overall height 4.55 m, body of stele, height 2.95 m, width 1.40 m, size of characters 2.1 cm • Location: site of Pŏpch'ŏn Monastery, Pŏpch'ŏn-ni, Puron-myŏn, Wŏnju-si, Kangwŏn-do • Author: Chŏng Yu-san • Calligrapher: An Min-hu, regular script • Text engravers: Yi Yŏng-bo and Chang Cha-ch'un

This is a stele for Haerin, National Preceptor Chi'gwang, that is on the site of Pŏpch'ŏn Monastery in Wŏnju. It is well preserved, with a tortoise-plinth and a dragon-motif capstone of excellent workmanship. The Hyŏnmo Stupa of State Preceptor Chi'gwang is square in shape and has a distinctive feature of a hanging curtain. It has been shifted and erected next to the National Palace Museum.

National Preceptor Chi'gwang was born in 984 (3rd year of Sŏngjong) into the Wŏn clan of Wŏnju. He learned from Kwan'ung at Pŏpch'ŏn Monastery and he became a monk under Chungwang of Haean Monastery and studied with him. He received the full monastic precepts at the age of sixteen, and he passed the monastic examinations at the age of twenty-one. He received the Dharma rank of Taedŏk (Great Virtue). In 1013 he became a Taesa (Great Master), and about ten years later was made Exalted Great Master. Around 1031 he was made Triply Exalted Great Master. He lectured on the *Huayan jing* (Avataṁsaka Sūtra) in the royal palace, and he took Yi Cha-yŏn's son Sohyŏn as his disciple. In 1054 King Munjong had him live in Hyŏnhwa Monastery, in 1056 he was made Royal Preceptor, and in 1058 he was appointed National Preceptor. He passed away in 1070 (24th year of Munjong) at the age of eighty-seven.

The stele was established in 1085 (2nd year of Sŏnjong), fifteen years after the master's death. National Preceptor Chi'gwang, as an eminent monk of the Pŏpsang (Dharmalakṣana) School, was a representative of the activities of the Doctrinal Order of Buddhism. The stele inscription records in detail the facts of the process of appointment to Royal Preceptor and the grant of a Dharma title, and the gift of a *kaṣāya* (robe) each time a monk was promoted. As such it is material that informs us of the realities of the operation of the Buddhist Order. The reverse inscription has the distinctive feature that it records a list of the greater assembly, up to 1,400 people, divided into those who received the teachings from him and were heirs to his Buddhist work, those who were promoted in accord with their posts, those who admired his virtue and made him their refuge, and those who were predecessors and later masters who had already passed away.

8. Stele Inscription of Taegak Ŭich'ŏn

▶ Erected in 1125 (3rd year of Injong of Koryŏ) • Size: overall height 4.32 m, body of stele, height 2.92 m, width 1.58 m, depth 18.2 cm, size of characters 1.8 cm • Location: site of Yŏngt'ong Monastery, Wŏlgo-ri, Kaesŏng-si, Hwanghae Pukto • Author: Kim Pu-sik • Calligrapher: O Ŏn-hu, regular script • Text engraver, unknown

This is the stele for Ŭich'ŏn, National Preceptor Taegak, that is on the site of Yŏngt'ong Monastery in Kaesŏng, in North Korea. Although the lower half of the front of the stele is damaged, on the tortoise-plinth, instead of the dragon-motif capstone there is a copestone, the upper half being well preserved.

National Preceptor Taegak was born the fourth son of King Munjong in 1055 (9th year of Munjong), and at the age of eleven he became a monk in the school of National Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk of the Hwaŏm School at Yŏngt'ong Monastery. He received the full precepts and familiarized himself with Mahayana and Hinayana scriptures, starting with Hwaŏm, as well as with non-Buddhist texts. In 1076 he became Monk Controller, and in 1085 he went to Song-dynasty China. During his fourteen months there he met over fifty eminent monks, and he returned to Koryŏ with over 4,000 fascicles of texts that he had collected. He printed the pitaka (collection) of Doctrinal scriptures at Hŭngwang Monastery. He was active at Hŭngwŏn Monastery, Haein Monastery, and Hŭngwang Monastery. In 1097 he built Kukch'ŏng Monastery where he founded the Ch'ŏnt'ae (Ch. Tiantai) School, compiled his *Wŏnjong mullyu* (Assorted Documents on the Perfect Teaching), and conducted other activities. He passed away in 1101 (6th year of Sukchong) at the age of forty-seven.

A stele written by Yun Kwan was erected immediately after the monk's death, and it is inferred that this stele at Yŏngt'ong Monastery was established twenty-four years after his death by disciples of the Hwaŏm School who had differences of opinion with other disciples. Again, seven years later, the Ch'ŏnt'ae School disciples erected another stele at Sŏnbong Monastery. There is also a tomb epitaph made after his death. Therefore three records of his life have been preserved. The epitaph and the stele inscriptions are

important materials that can be profitably compared to see how they differ in content according to the genre and those who created the inscriptions. The reverse inscription describes in detail the persons who participated in the process of erecting this stupa, and it distinguishes the disciples between the greater assembly who were pupils of State Preceptor Taegak's original teacher, Kyŏngdŏk, and those who were pupils of State Preceptor Taegak.

9. Stele Inscription of Pojo Chinul

▶ Erected in 1213 (2nd year of Kangjong of Koryŏ) • Re-erected in 1678 (4th year of Sukjong of Chosŏn) • Size: total height 3.94 m, body of stele, height 2.53 m, width 1.0 m • Location: Songgwang Monastery, Sinp'yŏng-ni, Songgwang-myŏn, Sunch'ŏn-si, Chŏlla Namdo • Author: Kim Kun-su • Calligrapher: Yu Sin, regular script • Text engraver: Poch'ang

This is the stele for Chinul, National Preceptor Pojo, that is at Songgwang Monastery in Sunch'ŏn. The stele is in the front of the stupa and below the monastery, and the stupa of National Preceptor Pojo is in the grounds of Songgwang Monastery.

The National Preceptor was born in 1158 (12th year of Ŭijong) into the Chŏng clan of Tongju (Tanhŭng, Hwanghae-do). He became a monk under Sŏn Master Chonghwi of the Chogye Lineage (Chogyejong) and studied with him. He passed the monastic examinations at the age of twenty-five. He gained enlightenment upon reading the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, understood the principles when he read the *Huayanjing helun* (Commentary combined with the Avataṁsaka Sūtra), and he was again enlightened when he read the *Dahui yulu* (Recorded Sayings of Dahui) while he was at Sangmuju Hermitage on Mt. Chiri. He formed the Community of Samādhi and Prajñā (Chŏnghye kyŏlsa) together with his comrades at Kŏju Monastery on Mt. P'algong, and he directed their practice. After staying at Sangmuju Hermitage, in 1200 he shifted to Kilsang Monastery on Mt. Songgwang (its name was changed to Suson-sa, Mt. Chogye), and he guided

several hundred people who joined the community and practiced diligently. He passed away in 1210 (6th year of Hŭijong) at the age of fifty-three.

This stele was erected three years later in 1213 (2nd year of Kangjong), but the stele was destroyed in the Japanese invasion directed by Hideyoshi in the Chosŏn period. Paek'am Sŏngch'ong had the original stele inscription re-carved and re-erected in 1678 (4th year of Sukjong). Consequently, the current stele has re-carved the front and the first half of the reverse of the original stele inscription, and on the reverse are recorded the names of the participants and the background to the re-erection. National Preceptor Pojo was the pioneer of the community Buddhism of the late Koryŏ, and he was the greatest thinker and synthesizer of Sŏn thought from the viewpoint of the joint practice of *samādhi* and *prajñā*. This stele inscription describes well the sequential development of the practice of National Preceptor Pojo. It also presents a prose summary of the core of his thought, and simultaneously shows the key points and some details of his thought. Furthermore, it also carries information on the damage to the stele and its re-erection.

10. Stele Inscription of Pogak Iryŏn

▶ Erected in 1295 (21st year of King Ch'ungnyŏl) • Treasure no. 428 • Size: body of the stele, height 1.80 m, width 1.01 m, estimated depth 15 cm, size of characters 1.8 cm • Location: In'gak Monastery, Hwabong-ni, Koro-myŏn, Kunwi-gun, Kyŏnggi Pukto • Author: Min Chi • Calligrapher: Chuk Hŏ, who collected characters in the style of Wang Xizhi, regular script, and used them to make the inscription • Text engraver: unknown.

This is the stele for Iryŏn, National Preceptor Pogak, which is at In'gak Monastery, Kunwi. Although it is in the nearby mountain, as only a very small part of the lower section remains, it has now been shifted inside the grounds of In'gak Monastery for preservation.

National Preceptor Pogak was born in 1206 (2nd year of Hŭijong) into the Kim clan of Kyŏngsan. He studied at Muryang Monastery and in 1219

he became a monk under Taeung of Chinjŏn Monastery. He passed the monastic examinations in 1227. He practiced at Podang Hermitage on P'o-san, and when the Mongols invaded, he spent his time on P'o-san in Muju Hermitage and other places there. In 1249 he became abbot of Chŏngnim Monastery in Namhae, and in 1259 he was ordered by the king to live in Sŏnwŏl Monastery in Kaegyŏng, the capital. After residing in Oŏ Monastery and Inhŭng Monastery, he became abbot of Unmun Monastery in 1277. He was appointed State Venerable in 1283, and he lived on P'o-san and also cared for his elderly mother. He resided in In'gak Monastery in 1283. He passed away at the age of eighty-four in 1289 (15^{th} year of King Ch'ungnyŏl).

The stele was set up in 1295 (21^{st} year of King Ch'ungnyŏl), six years after his death. Although the part of the stele that is made up of collections of characters in the hand of the famous calligrapher Wang Xizhi is very small, there are over twenty rubbings taken from the stele made at different times, and so we can restore almost all the stele inscription. A distinctive feature of the stele is a detailed record of a Sŏn dialogue with his students just before his death. The reverse inscription was written by his pupil Sallip. It records several deeds of the National Preceptor and lists his followers, dividing them into lay and monastic. Among the monastic ranks listed here are (graduates of the) grand selection, candidates for selection, consulting students and so on, which is material that notes ranks that were not originally part of the Koryŏ ranking system. The list of lay believers contains over forty names, beginning with over ten chief ministers and ministers of state. This list is significant material that allows us to examine an aspect of the relation between the Buddhist realm and society at that time.

11. Stele Inscription of Wŏnjŭng Pou

▶ Erected in 1385 (11^{th} year of King U of Koryŏ) • Treasure no. 611 • Size: overall height 3.42 m, body of stele, height 2.27 m, width 1.07 m, size of characters 2.7 m • Location: T'aego Monastery, Pukhan-dong, Tŏgyang-gu, Koyang-si, Kyŏnggi-do • Author: Yi Saek • Calligrapher: Kwŏn Chu, regular script / Text engraver: unknown.

This is the stele for T'aego Pou, National Preceptor Wŏnjŭng, which is at T'aego Monastery, Mt. Pukhan. It takes the form of a tortoise-plinth and dragon-motif capstone with cloud and lotus blossom motifs. It stands alongside the stupa for National Preceptor Wŏnjŭng. Although the lower half of the inscription has been worn away, the remainder of the stele surface has characters that are generally legible.

National Preceptor Wŏnjŭng was born in 1301 (27th year of King Ch'ungnyŏl) into the Hong clan of Hongju. He became a monk under Sŏn Master Kwangji of Hwaam Monastery, and he investigated such *hwadu* (point of the story, key word or phrase of a *gongan*) as "the myriad dharmas return to one" and "the *wu* character of Zhaozhou," and he obtained enlightenment. In 1341 he resided at Chunghŭng Monastery and wrote his "Song of T'aego Hermitage." In 1346 he went to study in Yuan-dynasty China, and he became an heir to the Dharma of Shiwu Qinggong who was in the eighteenth generation of the Linji Chan lineage. He returned to Koryŏ in 1348, entered into Mt. Sosŏl and cared for his parents. In 1356 he supervised a Dharma assembly at Pongŭn Monastery in Kaesŏng, was appointed Royal Preceptor, and initiated a movement to unite the Nine Mountain (branches of Sŏn) centered on the perfect mergence section (Hwaŏm teachings). Although he was confined to Mt. Songni by Sin Ton, after Sin Ton's downfall, he again received the veneration of the king, and in 1381 he was appointed National Preceptor. He passed away aged eighty-two in 1382 (8th year of King U).

The stele was erected in 1385 (11th year of King U), three years after his death. There are commemorative objects for National Preceptor Wŏnjŭng besides that found at T'aego Monastery. There are stone-bell (shaped stupas) at Yangsan Monastery in Kaŭn and Sana Monastery in Yangp'yŏng, and a stone stupa at Sosŏl Hermitage in Miwŏn. The stele inscription at Sana Monastery is very careless as to content in comparison to the stele of T'aego Monastery. In the reverse inscription of the T'aego Monastery stele, the disciples are listed according to monastic rank, and the lay believers listed are centered on those who were high-ranking officials. The material shows that there was a change in the relationship between the Order and the authorities of the time such as Sin Ton, and shows the activities of National Preceptor

Wŏnjŭng who formed the core of the Order in the late Koryŏ period.

12. Stele Inscription of Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng

▶ Erected in 1632 (10th year of Injo) • Size: total height 5.41 m, body of stele, height 2.76 m, width 1.05 m, depth 43 cm • Location: Paekhwa Hermitage, Yŏllae-dong, Naegang-ni, Kŭmgang-myŏn, Kangwŏn-do • Author: Yi Chŏng-gwi • Calligrapher: Sin Ik-sŏng, regular script • Text engraver: unknown.

This is the stele for Great Master Ch'ŏnghŏ that is at Paekhwa Hermitage on Mt. Kŭmgang. It has a tortoise-plinth and a transformed dragon-motif capstone, and has a special feature in that the body of the stele is almost square.

Hyujŏng, Great Master Ch'ŏnghŏ, was born in 1520 (15th year of Chungjong) into the Ch'oe clan of Wansan. While traveling around Mt. Chiri he investigated Buddhist scriptures, and so entered the school of Puyong Yŏnggwan where he made up his mind (to become a monk). At the age of twenty-one he became a monk with Sung'in as his ordination master. At the age of thirty he passed the Sŏn examinations, and having been made the Supervisor of the Two Schools of Sŏn and Doctrine, after a few years he went into seclusion on Mt. Kŭmgang, devoting himself to practice. As soon as the Japanese invasion directed by Hideyoshi began, together with his pupils such as Great Master Sa'myŏng, he mobilized a monk army and recaptured P'yŏngyang Fortress and took part in other such actions. But when the war was about to end, he gave up his monastic posts and travelled while practicing on Mt. Chiri, Mt. Kŭmgang, Mt. Myohyang, and so on. He passed away at the age of eighty-five in 1604 (37th year of Sŏnjo).

The stele was set up in 1630, twenty-six years after his death, and two years later in 1632, a stele was again erected and it has survived to the present. Stupas for Great Master Ch'ŏnghŏ are found at Pohyŏn Monastery and Ansim Monastery, and even later a number of other steles were erected, such as the 1674 stele of Taehŭng Monastery, the 1742 stele of P'yoch'ung

Monastery in Miryang, and the 1791 stele of Taehŭng Monastery.

Great Master Ch'ŏnghŏ established the idea of the concurrence of Sŏn and Doctrine, and he trained many pupils. He was an eminent monk regarded as an authority of Buddhism in the latter half of the Chosŏn dynasty. This stele has a brief account of his life when compared to the scale of the stupa inscriptions for eminent monks who received respect at the state level in the Silla and Koryŏ periods.

Appendix

This appendix contains three stupa stele inscriptions for bhikṣuṇī (nuns) who lived before the cut-off year of 1910. These are found among the 332 stele inscriptions of the *Hanguk kosŭng pimun ch'ongjip*, Chosŏn dynasty and Modern period volume. Although these women are not ranked among the eminent monks, these are the only stele inscriptions for bhikṣuṇī remaining from among the over three hundred stele inscriptions for eminent clerics that were manufactured and preserved in the over a millennium of the traditional period. It is notable that in the contemporary world the bhikṣuṇī saṁgha of Korean Buddhism flourishes in comparison with other Buddhist regions, in particular the realm of Southern Buddhism where the bhikṣuṇī saṁgha was ended for a time. In accordance with the principles of the compilation of this series, it was a concern to make fully known the tradition of Korean Buddhism. Therefore these steles of bhikṣuṇī have been published in this appendix.

1. Stele Inscription of Sasin

This is a stele inscription of the stupa for the bhikṣuṇī Sasin erected in 1767. A person from Kyŏngsŏng, she became a monastic at Mit'a Hermitage in Seoul and was ordained by her teacher, the bhikṣuṇī Pŏpch'an. She shifted

to Singye Monastery on Mt. Kŭmgang where she practiced. She entered nirvana in 1765. The stupa is at Singye Monastery on Mt. Kŭmgang. The stele inscription is very terse, and although we do not know who the author was, it transmits the Dharma of her ordaining teacher and her disciples. It tells us that there was a Dharma lineage of an independent bhikṣuṇī saṁgha.

2. Stele Inscription of Chŏng'yu

This is the stele inscription of Great Master Chŏngyu who was born in 1717 in P'yŏngyang and passed away in 1782. Ch'ae Che-gong wrote this stele inscription and it is included in his Pŏnam-jip. It is erected at Ch'ilsŏng Hermitage of Pohyŏn Monastery on Mt. Myohyang and thus is well known. She was a lay person who was devoted to prayer, and at the late age of sixty she entered the Order at Hwajang Monastery in Changdan. Six years after she became a nun she passed away and her stele was erected in Pohyŏn Monastery on Mt. Myohyang. We can see in it Chae Che-gong's ideas about Buddhism.

3. Stele Inscription of Seman

This is the stele inscription for a bhikṣuṇī that in the traditional period was rare south of the Han River. It records in detail the meritorious achievements in rebuilding Yŏng'ŭn Hermitage of Naejang Monastery by the nun Seman. The author was the eminent monk of recent times, Sŏkchŏn Chŏngho. The inscription is extant in his collected works, the *Sŏkchŏn munch'o*. The commemorative stele is also found in the forest of steles at Naejang Monastery. The author borrowed the story of the bhikṣuṇī Wujinzang of China who devoted her energy to the reconstruction of Baolin Monastery, the site where the sixth patriarch, Huineng, promoted the Southern School style of Chan, in order to praise the meritorious achievements of Seman.

The above stele inscriptions for the three bhikṣuṇī commonly relate

that early in their lives they practiced privately and only then entered the Order, and that they belonged to an independent teacher-pupil succession of a bhikṣuṇī saṁgha, and assisted in Buddhist services. We can see various aspects of the bhikṣuṇī saṁgha of the period through the distinctive deeds of these bhikṣuṇī practitioners such as their place of birth, monastery where they entered the Order, ordination teacher and Dharma master who conferred the precepts, post-ordination practice sites and pupils, nirvana and place of their passing.

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I

STELE INSCRIPTION OF POJO CH'EJING

(長興 寶林寺 普照禪師 彰聖塔碑文)

1.
Stele Inscription of Pojo Ch'ejing
長興 寶林寺 普照禪師 彰聖塔碑文

Stele Inscription of Ch'angsŏng, the Stūpa of Sŏn Master Pojo [Ch'ejing], at Porim-sa in Changhŭng.[1]

新羅國, 武州, 迦智山, 寶林寺, 謚普照禪師, 靈塔碑銘幷序.

Stele Inscription and Preface to the Numinous Stūpa of Sŏn Master [Ch'ejing] posthumously titled Pojo, at Porim-sa on Kaji-san, Muju, Country of Silla.[2]

朝請郎, 守定邊府司馬, 賜緋魚袋, 臣, 金潁, 奉敎, 撰, 儒林郎, 守武州昆湄縣令, 金薳, 奉敎, 書.

Composed upon royal order by the subject Kim Yŏng, Gentleman for Court Audiences, Commander of the Garrison Pacifying the Frontier, and

1 Located on the southern slope of Kaji-san, Porim-sa was built in 860 by Pojo Ch'ejing and thus corresponds to the oldest of the Nine Mountains of Sŏn (*kusan sŏnmun*) founded in the Silla dynasty. Ch'ejing's stele was erected there in 884, the tenth year of king Hŏngang's rule. The location the stele is given as: village of Pongdŏk, town of Yuch'i, county of Changhŭng, South Chŏlla Province.

2 Muju corresponds to the region in South Chŏlla Province with present-day Kwangju as its center. Originally Paekje territory, Muju was annexed by Silla and given the name Mujin-ju in 686, which was subsequently changed to Muju during king Kyŏngdŏk's reign. It was later renamed Kwangju (see *Samguk Sagi*, fascicle 36, Miscellaneous Records 5, Geography).

Recipient of the Crimson Fish-Pouch.[3]

Calligraphed upon royal order by Kim Wŏn, Gentleman-Confucian,[4] Assistant Brigade Commander of Muju, and District Magistrate of Pimi.[5]

聞夫禪境玄寂, 正覺希夷, 難測難知, 如空如海. 故龍樹師子之尊者, 喻芭蕉於西

3 Kim Yŏng (d.u.), was a scholar-official in 9th century Silla. He was sent to China to deliver a message of congratulation to the Tang emperor in 897. Kim Yŏng probably passed the civil service examinations (the category open to foreign nationals 賓貢科) and was a successful candidate at the highest level, since the title 'Recipient of the Crimson Fish-Pouch' refers to a high position within the rank system of the Tang. Court officials wore fish-shaped pouches fastened to their waist. The colors of the pouches varied according to the rank of the wearer. A crimson pouch with a golden buckle was worn by officials of third or higher grades; a green pouch with a silver buckle by those of the fourth and fifth grades; a blue pouch with bronze buckle by those of sixth and seventh grades; and a yellow pouch with iron buckle by those of eighth grade and below. It is thus safe to assume that Kim Yŏng, like his eminent –and more well-documented– contemporary Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn (857–), spent several years in his youth studying in China for the civil service examinations. Kim Yŏng's subsequent career was a prestigious one, as can be glimpsed from his official titles: *chaoqinglang* (Kr. *choch'ŏng-nang*) 朝青郎, a prestige title for officials of rank 7a or 7a1 in the Tang bureaucracy; *shoubianfu sima* (Kr. *subyŏnbu sama*) 守邊府司馬, a military title, though it remains unclear whether "frontier" here refers to the Tang-Silla frontier or whether it is an allusion to the coastline of South Chŏlla. After all, Kim Yŏng also was appointed as Governor of Kŭmsŏng Commandery 守錦城郡太守). Kŭmsŏng, present day Naju in South Chŏlla Province, was a strategically important fortress during the Three Kingdom period and the Silla dynasty. Kim Yŏng also composed other stele inscriptions for Buddhist monks. In 890, Queen Chinsŏng (r. 887–897) ordered him to compose the stele inscription for Taebo Sŏngwang 大寶禪光, the stūpa of Sŏn Master Wŏllang Taet'ong 圓朗大通 (816–883), at Wŏlgwang-sa 月光寺. He is also presumed to have composed Nŭngga Powŏl 楞伽寶月, the stūpa of Sŏn Master Such'ŏl 秀澈 (817–893) located at Simwŏn-sa 深源寺.

4 Hucker, Charles O. A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.

5 Kim Wŏn (d.u.) was a scholar-official noted for his skills as a calligrapher. Strictly speaking, Kim Wŏn wrote out only the preface of this inscription, while the eulogy was written out by Kim Ŏn-kyŏng. For a single stele inscription to be in the calligraphy of different calligraphers is quite peculiar. Kim Wŏn's running script emulates the style of the famous Tang scholar and calligrapher Ouyang Xun (557–641), whose style had gained wide popularity in Silla at that time. Despite the

天, 弘忍惠能之祖師, 譚醍醐於震旦. 盖掃因果之跡, 離色相之鄕, 登大牛之車, 入罔象之域, 是以, 智光遠照, 恵澤遐流, 灑法雨於昏衢, 布慈雲於覺路.

The realm of Sŏn is profound and calm, correct awakening[6] is rare and distant.[7] It is difficult to fathom and difficult to know. It is like empty space and like the ocean.

Therefore, in India, the venerables Nāgārjuna[8] and Āryasiṁha[9] compared

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fact that this inscription is the only extant specimen of Kim Wŏn's calligraphy, it has long been cherished and considered by connoisseurs as excellent and a representative example of Silla calligraphy. Rubbings of Kim Wŏn's calligraphy were circulated in China as well, where the Qing dynasty scholar of epigraphy Ye Changchi noted its excellent style.

There are no extant sources about Kim Wŏn's life except this stele. He received the prestige title of "Gentleman-Confucian" (Ch. *rulin-lang*, Kr. *yurim-nang*) 儒林郎, which was granted to civilian officials of rank 9a1 in the Tang dynasty. Like Muju, Pimi too was located in South Chŏlla Province, present-day town of Miam, county of Yŏng'am.

6 Lit. "correct awakening"; a reference to the Buddha's [unsurpassed] complete and perfect awakening (S. samyak-saṃbodhi; also anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi).

7 The term "*hŭi i*", (*Ch. xi yi*) rendered here as "rare and distant", occurs in the *Daodejing*, chapter 1, section 14, as "Look for it, it cannot be seen. It is called the distant. Listen for it, it cannot be heard. It is called the rare." In the context of Buddhism, "rare and distant" are understood, according to Kasan Jikwan, as referring to "cutting off the way of words and speech" (Ch. *yuanyu daoduan*; Kr. *ŏn'ŏ todan*) 言語道斷 and the "extinction of the activities of the mind" (Ch. *chinxing chumie*; Kr. *simhaeng ch'ŏmyŏl*) 心行處滅.

8 Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250 C.E.) was probably the most influential Indian Buddhist philosopher. He wrote the "Fundamental Verses on the Middle Way" (S.) *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* and has been credited with founding the Madhyamaka school which, together with the Yogācāra school, are the two main philosophical schools of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. Although nothing reliable is known about his life, traditional East Asian Buddhist accounts depict him –among other things– as a "Second Śākyamuni" or "Second Buddha" who revived Buddhism by propagating the Mahāyāna and acclaim him as the "Patriarch of the Eight Schools" (that is, as the patriarch of eight Sinitic "schools" of Buddhism; namely: the Vinaya, Three Treatises, Pure Land, Chan, Tiantai, Huayan, Faxiang, and Zhenyan schools.

9 Chinese and Korean Chan (Kr. Sŏn) lineage charts list Āryasiṁha as the twenty-fourth patriarch of Chan in India.

it to plantain leaves.[10] In China,[11] the patriarchs Hongren[12] and Huineng[13] spoke of it as clarified butter.[14] It sweeps away the traces of cause and effect. It departs from the realm of material phenomena.[15] Boarding the cart of a great ox,[16] one enters into the formless domain.[17] Therefore, the light of

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10 What is rendered here as plantain leaves, "bajiao" (Kr. *p'ach'o*; S. *kadali*) 芭蕉 is a metaphor for the lack of substance, self-nature or own being (S. *svabhāva*) of things. When the leaves of these plants are peeled off all the way to the end, nothing is left besides the seeds. See, for examples, the usages in the Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhumi śāstra* (Ch. *Yuqieshidilun* 瑜伽師地論) fasc. 16 (T. 1579. 30. 363a). Similarly, the secular world, being empty and false, illusory and impermanent, is also referred to as 'a world like plantain leaves or bubbles.' See, for example, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (the Chinese translation of the *Samyuktāgama*) fasc. 10 (T. 99.2.69a) or the *Wuyin piyu jing* 五陰譬喻經 (also included in the *Samyuktāgama*) T. 150.2.501b.

11 The term for China here is Zhendan (Kr. Chindan) 震旦. The character *zhen* (Kr. *chin*) is one of the Eight Trigrams (Ch. *bagua* 八卦) in the Book of Changes, and denotes the East, i.e., the direction of the rising sun (China from an Indian perspective). Other homophonous terms in Korean pronunciation for China are Zhendan 眞丹 or Zhendan 振旦.

12 Hongren (602–675) was the fifth patriarch of Chinese Chan. He received the transmission of the mind-seal from Daoxin, the fourth patriarch, and transmitted the Dharma to Huineng in 671. He was conferred the posthumous title of "Chan Master Daman" 大滿禪師 by the Tang emperor Daizong who also ordered the erection of his stūpa on Huangmei-shan.

13 Huineng (638–713): the putative sixth patriarch of the Chinese Chan school. Huineng was considered to be the founder of the "Southern School" of Chan which emphasized "sudden awakening" and subsequently evolved into the dominant tradition of Chinese Chan. According to traditional accounts, Huineng journeyed to South China in 676 and moved into Caoxi (Kr. Chogye-san), where he built Baolin Monastery (Kr. Porim-sa) and propagated the Dharma.

14 Clarified butter (Ch. *dihu*, Kr. *cheho* 醍醐; S. *maṇḍa*) is the most exquisite dairy product that is obtained in the fifth and final stage of the refining process of milk. This word often occurs in (Chinese) Buddhist texts as metaphor designating buddha-nature, ultimate truth, or nirvana. See, for example, the third case of the *Blue Cliff Record* (Biyan lu).

15 Material phenomena (Ch. *se xiang* 色相; Kr. *saek-sang*; S. *rūpa-lakṣaṇa*); literally: form and appearance. The phenomenal world, the material appearance or external manifestation of things.

16 A cart of a great ox refers to the "great vehicle", the Mahāyāna, in contrast to the Hīnayāna or "small vehicle" (Ch. *xiaosheng* 小乘). In the *Lotus Sūtra*, the Hīnayāna is compared to a sheep-driven cart, the *pratyekabuddha-yāna* (i.e., the vehicle of the solitary buddhas) to a deer-driven cart, and the Mahāyāna to an ox-driven cart. The one-vehicle (*ekayāna*) is compared to a cart driven by a white ox.

wisdom radiates far and wide. Abundant benefit flows into the distance. The rain of Dharma[18] sprinkles the dark highways [of the secular world]. The cloud of compassion[19] spreads over the path to awakening.

見空者, 一息而越彼邪山, 有爲則永刧而滯于黑業. 矧乎末法之世, 像教紛紜, 罕契眞宗, 互持偏見, 如擘水求月, 若搓繩繫風, 徒有勞於六情, 豈可得其至理.

Those seeing emptiness cross in a single breath over that mountain of errors.[20] [Those] in the conditioned world[21] remain entangled in black karma[22] for perpetual aeons.[23] Moreover, in the era of the final Dharma,[24] the semblance teaching confuses them and they rarely conform to the true teaching.[25] They hold to mutually [contradictory] biased views. This is like

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17 The formless domain: i.e., the realm of truth, the stage of complete awakening.

18 The rain of Dharma (S. *dharma-varṣa*, Ch. *fayu* 法雨) is a reference to the Buddhist teachings.

19 A reference to the Buddha's compassion, spreading like a soothing cloud over all sentient beings.

20 The mountain of errors (Ch. *yeshan* 邪山) or mountain of wrong views, refers to non-Buddhist and heterodox views that are as great as a mountain. See, William Soothill, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (London: Kegan Paul, 1937) p. 246.

21 The conditioned (S. *saṃskṛtā*, Ch. *youwei* 有爲) refers to conditioned dharmas, the phenomenal world, as opposed to the unconditioned and uncompounded realm of nirvāṇa.

22 Black karma (Ch. *heiye* 黑業, S. *śukla karma*) refers to unwholesome actions.

23 Aeon is a rendering for the Chinese term *jie* 劫 (S. *kalpa*), an infinitely long period of time.

24 The final Dharma (Ch. *mofa* 末法) refers to the age of decline of Buddhism. Traditionally, this age is supposed to begin 2,000 years after Śākyamuni's death and last for ten thousand years. During this age, it is believed that people will be unable to achieve awakening and society will become morally corrupt and degenerated. During the age of the final dharma, the teachings of the Buddha will still be correct, but people will no longer be capable of following them.

25 The final age of the Dharma reflects the notion and belief that the capacity of human beings to achieve awakening declined as they grew increasingly remote from the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. Thus, according to traditional views, the first thousand years after the Buddha's entry into nirvana correspond to the "period of the correct dharma" 正法 in which Buddhist practice conforms to the rules of the vinaya. The "semblance teaching" (S. *saddharma-pratirūpaka*) refers to the following period of another thousand years, during which the Buddha's teachings still remain available, but the

tearing open [the surface of] the water to seek the moon [reflected on it], or like twining a rope to tie up the wind. In vain do they exert the six sense-organs.[26] How can they [thus] obtain the ultimate truth?

其於衆生爲舍那, 舍那爲衆生, 衆生不知在舍那法界之中, 縱横造業, 舍那亦不知衆生在苞含之內, 湛然常寂, 豈非迷耶. 知此迷者, 大不迷矣, 知其迷者, 惟我禪師乎. 或謂此說爲濩落之言, 吁. 道經云, "上士, 聞道崇而奉之, 中士, 聞道如存若亡, 下士, 聞道撫掌而笑, 不笑不足以爲道也." 此之謂矣.

Although sentient beings are [identical to] Vairocana[27] and Vairocana is [inherent in all] sentient beings, sentient beings are unaware that they are [contained] within the dharmadhātu[28] of Vairocana, and they create [unwholesome] karma everywhere [as they please, without restraint]. Likewise, Vairocana is unaware that [all] sentient beings are contained inside him [i.e., the dharmadhātu]. He is tranquil and perpetually quiescent. How can this not be a delusion? Those who are aware of this delusion are not deluded at all. The one who is aware of that delusion is none other than our Sŏn Master. Alas, some say that this explanation is merely unsubstantial wording. The *Daodejing* said, "When superior disciples hear about the Way, they revere it and uphold it. When intermediate disciples hear about the Way, they [seem to] either preserve or lose it. When inferior disciples hear about the Way, they strike the palm of their hands and laugh. If it is not laughed about, it would not suffice

conditions for spiritual practice are far less propitious. The third and final period, which is unknownin Indian sources, is said to last for ten thousand 10,000 years –a number that implies "infinity" in East Asia– and is characterized by a general lack of capacity to practice and realize the Buddhist path –or what here is referred to as the "true teaching", i.e. the teachings of the Sŏn school.

26 The six sense organs or faculties (*indriya*) refer to eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind.

27 Vairocana or Mahāvairocana is the cosmic or universal Buddha shining everywhere and pervading all things and sentient beings. He is the main Buddha in the *Huayan jing* (Avataṃsaka-sūtra) and, as such, especially popular in both the Korean Hwaŏm or Kyo and Sŏn tradition.

28 The dharmadhātu (Ch. *fajie* 法界) is the world or realm of truth (dharma), the absolute realm of existence which includes all sentient beings and all phenomena (dharmas).

to be [referred to as] the Way."[29] This is what is meant here.

禪師, 諱體澄, 宗姓金, 熊津人也. 家承令望, 門襲仁風. 是以, 慶自天鍾, 德從嶽降, 孝義旌表於鄉里, 禮樂冠盖於軒裳者也.

The Sŏn Master's [Dharma-] name was Ch'ejing. His ancestral surname was Kim. He was a person from Ungjin.[30] His family handed down its distinguished reputation, his pedigree inherited the tradition of humaneness. Therefore propitiousness [descended] from heaven and virtue descended from mountain peaks. Filial piety and righteousness were honored in [his family's] native village. [Its members achieving] high government office were covered in canopy [and proficient] in rites and music.

禪師託體之年, 尊夫人夢, 日輪駕空, 垂光貫腹. 因之驚寤, 便覺有懷. 及逾朞月, 不之誕生, 尊夫人追尋瑞夢, 誓禱良因, 膳徹服脩, 飲斷醪醴, 胎訓淨戒, 篤事福田. 由是克解分蓐之憂, 允叶弄璋之慶.

In the year of the Sŏn Master's conception, his esteemed mother dreamed of the sun disk riding in the sky and shined down its light to penetrate through her abdomen. Because of this, she woke up surprised and realized that she was pregnant. As his birth did not occur even after a full year elapsed, his mother followed up on her auspicious dream, praying that [her unborn child] may become a good cause [to the world].[31] She abstained from consuming meat and drinking alcohol, instructed her fetus by keeping the pure precepts

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29 See *Daode jing*, fasc. 3 last vol. section 41.

30 Ungjin 熊津 was located in the district of present-day Kongju, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. See *Samguk Sagi*, fasc. 36, Miscellaneous Records 5, Geography.

31 A good cause 良因 [to the world]: according to the *Lotus Sutra*, the Buddha appeared in the world for the sake of a great cause 一大事因緣, i.e., to save all sentient beings. In this context, a good cause probably means that Ch'ejing's mother wished her son to become an eminent monk saving sentient beings through propagating Buddhism.

and making offering to the field of merit.[32] Thereby she overcame the pain of labor and experienced the felicitous event of giving birth to a son.

禪師貌雄岳立, 氣潤河靈, 輪齒自然, 金髮特異, 閭里聲歎, 親戚咸驚. 從襁褓之年, 宛有出塵之趣, 登齠齔之歲, 永懷捨俗之緣, 二親知其富貴難留, 財色莫繫, 許其出家遊學.

The countenance of the Sŏn Master was majestic like a towering mountain peak, his lustrous countenance was like that of a river spirit. The alignment of his teeth was natural and his shining hair uniquely different. Villagers voiced their admiration and his close relatives were all surprised. His intention to depart from the secular world was persistent from his infancy. When he reached the age of losing the milk teeth,[33] he harbored the aspiration to forever abandon his connection with the secular world. His parents permitted him to go forth,[34] knowing that it would be difficult to keep him back by wealth and fame, and that he was not to be tied down by wealth or women.

策杖尋師, 投花山勸法師座下. 聽經爲業, 摳衣請益, 夙夜精勤, 觸目無遺, 歷耳

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32 Instructing the fetus, also known as prenatal education (Ch. *taijiao*, Kr. *t'aegyo* 胎教) refers to a set of beliefs popular in China –and perhaps even more so in Korea– according to which an expectant mother should be prudent in speech and action, observe moral regulations and keep distance from evil thoughts, thereby affecting her unborn child in good ways. Here, she does so by keeping the "pure precepts" –a reference to the five Buddhist precepts (S. *pañca-śīla*, Ch. *wujie* 五戒), namely abstaining from killing (here also implying not eating meat), stealing, adultery, lying, and drinking intoxicating substances– and by making offerings to the "field of merit" (S. *puṇya kṣetra*; Ch. *futian*; Kr. *pokjŏn* 福田) which is a reference for the monastic community.

33 Male children were considered to start growing teeth eight months after birth and to lose them at the age of eight, whereas for female children, the process of growing teeth begins seven months after birth and are said to lose them at age seven. These reckonings follow the lunar calendar and the "age of losing the milk teeth" corresponds to the of age six to seven.

34 To leave the household life and become a Buddhist monk, a child must first obtain the permission of his parents.

必記. 常以陶冶麤鄙, 藻練僧儀, 積仁順而煩惱蠲除, 習虛靜而神通妙用, 超然出衆, 卓爾不群. 後以大和丁未歲, 至加良峽山普願寺, 受具戒, 一入壇場, 七宵行道, 俄有異雉, 忽爾馴飛. 有稽古者曰, "昔向陳倉, 用顯霸王之道, 今來寶地, 將興法主之徵者焉."

He wandered around to study, carrying a walking staff and seeking a master. He became a disciple under the tutelage of[35] Dharma Master Kwŏn on Hwa-san.[36] He regarded listening to sūtras as his work. He lifted his robe requesting for additional instruction.[37] From dawn to night, he applied himself assiduously. What came in contact with his eyes was never discarded, what passed through his ears was always memorized.[38] He constantly practiced to eliminate the coarse and vile [defilements][39] and learned the monastic deportment.[40] He accumulated humaneness and obedience, and removed defilements. He cultivated emptying and calming [the mind], [thereby achieving] the sublime function of spiritual power. His transcendence excelled [by far his] fellow monks, his preeminence towered high above the masses. Subsequently, in the forty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle, in the Dahe era [827], he arrived at Powŏn-sa on Hyŏp-san

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35 The Chinese character used here is *tou* 投, lit. "to submit", also used in the combination of toushi 投師, "to become a disciple under the tutelage of a [Chan] master."

36 Hwasan is located in Southern Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. Dharma Master (Kr. *pŏpsa*, Ch. *fashi* 法師) is an honorific title for a monk teaching the Dharma. "Dharma Master Kwŏn" is otherwise unknown.

37 In traditional monastic education, the act of listening is given much more emphasis than the act of reading. Listening, followed by thinking and meditating, is the first item in the process of developing wisdom. A monk's willingness to listen is characterized by a respect for the text and the person reciting, chanting, or explaining it. Ch'ejing lifting his monastic robe is thus a sign of respect.

38 I.e., he had a prodigious memory and memorized all scriptures he read or heard.

39 The defilements (S. *kleśa*) to be abandoned or eliminated in the cultivation of the Buddhist path are sometimes divided into the categories of "coarse" (Ch. *cu*, Kr. *ch'u* 麤), and "subtle" (Ch. *xi*, Kr. *se* 細). See, for example, the treatment of defilements in the *Dasheng qixin lun* (Treatise on the Awakening of Faith According to the Mahāyāna).

40 The monastic deportment (Ch. *sengyi* 僧儀) refers to the monastic custom, i.e. shaving head and beard, wearing the robes, etc. See Soothill 420.

in Karyang[41] to receive the full set of precepts.[42] At once he entered the site of the [ordination] platform and practiced the path for seven [consecutive] days. Then suddenly there was a strange pheasant that flew in a docilely manner. Someone who had studied antiquities said, "In the ancient past, the way of hegemons and kings was manifested in Chencang.[43] In the present, the advent [of the pheasant] in the jeweled land[44] is the sign that a lord

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41 Located on Sangwang-san in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province, Powŏn-sa is mentioned by Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn as one of the ten monastic centers of Hwaŏm doctrinal studies.

42 The full precepts refer to the complete set of precepts that monks and nuns must follow once they have entered the saṃgha. In East Asia, including Korea, the precepts refer to those of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya.

43 Kings and hegemons refer to two types of rulers and their corresponding methods of rule. According to Confucianism, kings rule by following the Way (*dao* 道) and cultivating virtue (*de* 德). Hegemons rule by wise use of intelligent ministers and resources, enabling them to establish a state that is militarily and economically strong, yet they fail to gain the Mandate of Heaven. Present-day Baoji in Shanxi Province, Chencang was first established as district by the Qin dynasty during the Spring and Autumn period and was subsequently abolished in the Northern Zhou. It was then reestablished in the Sui and renamed Baoji in the Tang. In the book dealing with the royal sacrifices to heaven and earth (Ch. *feng shan* 封禪), in the twenty-eighth fascicle of the *Shiji* 史記, there is the following entry: "[In 754 B.C.E.] Duke Qin Wen performed sacrifices at the town of Beiban in Chencang. The spirit [of the site] manifested itself in irregular intervals. In a certain year, it didn't manifest itself at all, in another year, it appeared often. He only appeared at night in the form of radiating light similar to that of a meteor, coming from the southeast and gathering at the ancestral temple. The sound it made while approaching was like that of a rooster. Duke Qin Wen performed sacrifices and named the site Chenbao." Sima Zhen, quoting the *Lieyi Zhuan* (列異傳), mentions in his commentary to the *Shiji,* that someone from Chencang received a strange animal and as he was about to offer it as a sacrifice, two children appeared and told him that the animal's name was "Wei" 媦 and that it sustained itself by eating up the brains of corpses buried in the soil. Thereupon the animal said that the names of the two children were Chen and Bao, and that the one who would catch the male child would become a king, whereas the one who would catch the female child would become an earl. Thereupon, as the man tried to grasp the children, they changed into pheasants and flew away. When Duke Qin Mu went hunting, he caught a hen pheasant. Thereupon, he built an ancestral shrine and performed a sacrifice. Thereupon a radiance manifested itself and produced a thunderous sound, and a dozen cock pheasants radiated a red light which shon as far as Nanyang and even inside the ancestral shrine at Chencang.

44 The term jeweled land (Ch. *baodi* 寶地) refers to the monastery. *Kasan Pulgyo taesarim* vol. 10, pp. 210–211.

promoting the Dharma will [appear]."[45]

初道儀大師者, 受心印於西堂, 後歸我國, 說其禪理. 時人雅尙經敎, 與習觀存神之法, 未臻其爲任運之宗, 以爲虛誕, 不之崇重, 有若達摩不遇梁武也. 由是知時未集, 隱於山林, 付法於廉居禪師.

Initially, the great master Toŭi received the mind-seal from Xitang [Zhizang].[46] Later he returned to our country and expounded the principles of Sŏn.[47] At that time people only valued scriptural teachings and practised the method of visualization for preserving the spirit.[48] They did not gather for [practising] the "teaching of effortlessness and accordance to circumstances" [i.e., Sŏn],[49] as they considered it to be false. They did not respect it. It was like Bodhidharma's unsuccessful encounter with [Emperor] Wu of Liang.[50]

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45 The "lord promoting the Dharma" is a reference to Ch'ejing and "promoting the Dharma" in this context specifically refers to his subsequent propagation of Sŏn in Silla.

46 Sŏn Master Toŭi, according to his biography in the *Zutangji* (*Collection of the Patriarch Hall*), was a native of Pukhan Commandery and his title was Myŏngjŏk. He traveled to Tang China in 784, where he was fully ordained as a monk at Baotan-si on Wutai-shan. Thereupon he made a pilgrimage to Huineng's Portrait Hall in Caoxi. He obtained the transmission of the dharma from Xitang Zhizang (735–814) at Kaiyuan-si in Jiangxi Province. Chan Master Xitang, himself a disciple of Mazu Daoyi (707–786), also bestowed the Dharma transmission upon other Korean monks, notably Hyech'ŏl and Hongch'ŏk. Toŭi returned to Silla in 821, but as monks in the main centers of Buddhism were not receptive to his teachings of Sŏn, he withdraw into Chinjŏn-sa on Sŏrhak-san, where he spent the remaining forty years of his life in Sŏn practice. Prior to his death, he transmitted the dharma to Yŏmgŏ. Ch'ejing, Yŏmgŏ's disciple, propagated the teachings of Sŏn on a large scale and became revered as the first patriarch of the Kaji-san school of Sŏn.

47 I.e., the teaching of Sŏn.

48 The "method of visualization for preserving the spirit" is a reference to practice according to the Kyo (i.e. doctrinal schools) as opposed to Sŏn.

49 The teaching of Sŏn is literally expressed in terms of "the school of non-action and practice in accordance with [all] circumstances (*muui im'un chi chong* 無爲任運之宗).

50 A reference to the popular legend of Bodhidharma's encounter with Emperor Wu, the founder of the Liang dynasty. According to the *Collection of the Patriarchal Hall*, in 527, Bodhidharma visited the emperor, a fervent patron of Buddhism. The emperor asked Bodhidharma, "What is the highest

Because of this, [Toŭi] knew that the time [to propagate Sŏn] had not yet arrived and he secluded himself in the mountain forests and entrusted the Dharma to Sŏn Master Yŏmgŏ.[51]

居雪山億聖寺, 傳祖心, 闢師教, 我禪師往而事焉. 淨修一心, 求出三界, 以命非命, 以軀非軀. 禪師察志氣非偶, 素槩殊常, 付玄珠, 授法印.

[Yŏmgŏ] dwelled at Ŏksŏng-sa on Sŏl-san,[52] where he transmitted the mind of the patriarchs and propagated his master's teaching. Our Sŏn Master [Ch'ejing] went to serve him. [Ch'ejing] purified and cultivated his One Mind,[53] seeking to transcend the three realms.[54] He did not consider

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meaning of noble truth?" Bodhidharma answered, "There is no noble truth." The emperor then asked Bodhidharma, "Who is standing before me?" Bodhidharma answered, "I don't know." The emperor then asked Bodhidharma, "How much karmic merit have I earned by ordaining Buddhist monks, building monasteries, having sutras copied, and commissioning Buddha images?" Bodhidharma answered, "None." From then on, the emperor refused to listen to whatever Bodhidharma had to say. As a result, Bodhidharma left the Liang court and retreated to a cave near Shaolin-si in the northern Chinese kingdom of Wei where he "faced a wall for nine years, not speaking for the entire time."

51 Sŏn Master Yŏmgŏ obtained the dharma-transmission from Toŭi and thus became the second patriarch of the Kaji-san school. He died in 844 and his stūpa was erected at Hŭngbŏp-sa near Wŏnju. The monastery is no longer extant, but his stūpa record 塔誌 is preserved at the National Museum of Korea in Seoul.

52 Many Korean mountain names are associated with Buddhism. Sŏl-san (lit. "snowy mountain) refers to Sŏrak-san ("snow peak mountain"), which has traditionally been considered the Korean counterpart of the Himalayas, where the Buddha formerly had practised austerities. Therefore, numerous Buddhist monasteries and hermitages were built on Sŏrak-san. The site of Ŏksŏng-sa remains uncertain, although the fragmentary remains of the stele inscription of Sŏn Master Honggak (?–888) 弘覺 erected in what is now the site of Sarim-sa (aka. Sŏllim-wŏn) in Kangwŏn Province has led some scholars to presume that Sarim-sa corresponds to Ŏksŏng-sa.

53 One mind (Kr. *ilsim*; Ch. *yixin* 心) is another term for the mind of sentient beings, which is intrinsically pure and unchanging, but appears externally to be impure and ephemeral. The concept of One Mind plays a pivotal role in Wŏnhyo's philosophy, as illustrated in his commentaries to the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論.

54 The three realms of existence (*tridhātu*) comprise the entirety of the Buddhist universe. The realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*) is residence for beings from all the categories, while the realm of

his life as his own, nor his body as his own. The Sŏn Master [Yŏmgŏ], having noticed that [Ch'ejing's] determination and spirit were unmatched and that his innate disposition was extraordinary, entrusted him with the black pearl[55] and transmitted the Dharma seal to him.

至開成二年丁巳, 與同學貞育虛懷等, 路出滄波, 西入華夏. 叅善知識, 歷三五州, 知其法界, 嗜欲共同, 性相無異. 乃曰, "我祖師所說, 無以爲加, 何勞遠適." 止足意興.

In the fifty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle, the second year of Kaicheng era [837], [Ch'ejing] together with his fellow practitioners, [the monks] Chŏngyuk and Hŏhoe,[56] traveled across the azure waves westwards to China. Seeking awakened masters,[57] they journeyed through the Fifteen Provinces.[58] [Ch'ejing] realized that in the dharmadhātu, preference and

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form (*rūpadhātu*) and the realm of formlessness (*ārūpyadhātu*) are reserved for gods of higher achievement. These three realms are also further subdivided into the categories of six paths of rebirth, the twenty-five categories of existence, and the nine lands of rebirth.

55 The "black pearl" is a term borrowed from Daoism. The character *hyŏn* (Ch. *xuan* 玄) means black, dark, profound, abstruse, mysterious, arcane. In Buddhist parlance, it refers to arcane truth.

56 Chŏng'yuk and Hŏhoe are otherwise unknown.

57 Awakened masters is a translation for *sŏn chisik* (Ch. *shan zhishi* 善知識), corresponding to kalyāṇamitra in Sanskrit. Often rendered as "spiritual friend" in English, the term here rather refers primarily to a teacher, master, or mentor. In the context of Korean Sŏn, monks who traveled to China "seeking the Dharma" actually sought awakened masters or lineage holders, who were often referred to as sŏn chisik, in a way similar to Sudhana's pilgrimage seeking kalyāṇamitra throughout India, a widely-known story in the *Huayan jing*.

58 Fifteen Provinces as a generic term for China is derived from an entry on geography in the records 27 of fasc. 37 in the *Xin Tangshu* (*New History of the Tang*). According to it, at the beginning of the Tang dynasty, Gaozu (r. 618–626) ruled the whole country by means of an Area Command (*dudufu* 都督府), after having performed an administrative reform, during which commanderies (*jun* 郡) were restructured into prefectures (*zhou* 州) and governors (*taishou* 太守) ranked as regional chiefs (*cishi* 刺史). In 627, the entire territory was divided into ten circuits (*dao* 道), which were temporarily administered by twenty-four area commands during the Jingyun era (710–711). Subsequently, in 733, the whole country was divided into fifteen circuits with each their

desire are in all [people] identical, that nature and [its] characteristics are not different.[59] Then he said, "There is nothing to add to what our patriarch has explained. Why should we trouble ourselves with going to far off places? Let us be satisfied with the thought to conclude [our journey]."

五年春二月, 隨平盧使, 歸舊國, 化故鄉. 於是檀越, 傾心釋敎, 繼踵百川之朝, 鼇壑群嶺之宗, 鷲山未足爲喩也. 遂次武州黃壑蘭若, 時大中十三祼, 龍集于析木之津, 憲安大王卽位之後年也.

In the second month of spring, the fifth year [of Kaicheng era, 840], [Ch'ejing] accompanied the Pinglu envoy[60] and returned to his country of origin to convert his homeland. Thereupon, lay donors with a mind inclined toward Śākyamuni's teaching, continuously followed him, like the merging of a hundred rivers into the ocean[61] or like the multitude of mountain peaks [looking up to] Vulture Peak[62] as the chief mountain. [Yet] not even these

own investigation commissioners (*caifangshi* 採訪使). The regional revolts which occurred during the Qianyuan era (758–759) led to the replacement of the investigation commissioners by defense commissioners (*fangyushi* 防禦使). In Ch'ejing's stele inscription, Fifteen Provinces refers to China as a whole.

59 "Nature and characteristics" (Kr. *sŏng sang*; Ch. *xing xiang* 性相) are two juxtaposed terms referring to the noumenal and phenomenal, substance and characteristics, or essence and manifestation. This pair of terms is an integral part of philosophical discourse in Huayan, Sanlun, Faxiang, and other sinitic schools of Buddhism.

60 Pinglushi appears in Tang governmental nomenclature as an envoy of some sort.

61 The term rendered as "ocean" is *ohak* (Ch. *aohe* 鼇壑). It actually refers to a mythical mountain on the humped shell of a giant sea-turtle amidst the ocean, which is the abode of Daoist immortals. A description thereof occurs in the chapter "The questions of Tang" of the *Liezi*. According to it, east of the Gulf of *Bohai* (Kr. *Parhae* 渤海), there was a great underwater ravine from which five mountains emerged. These mountains were interconnected at their base, but the base did not rest on solid ground, so that the mountains fluctuated up and down according to the ocean waves. Therefore the Celestial Ruler ordered fifteen giant sea-turtles to support these mountains. The term translated here as "ocean" is to be understood as a reference to the ocean beneath those five mountains.

62 Vulture Peak (S. *Gṛdhrakūṭa*) near Rājagṛha, the residence of Bimbisāra, king of Magadha and

metaphors are sufficient.[63] Subsequently, [Ch'ejing moved to] the hermitage[64] of Hwanghak[-sa] near Muju. This period corresponded to the thirteenth year of Dazhong era [858] and to the Earthly Branch of the Tiger [lit. ford of the woodcutter] where dragons gather.[65] It was the year following the Great King Hŏn'an's accession to the throne.

大王聆風仰道, 勞于夢魂, 願闢禪扉, 請入京轂. 夏六月, 敎遣長沙縣副守金彦卿, 賫茶藥迎之. 師以處雲巖之安, 兼屬結戒之月, 託淨名之病, 陳六祖之辭. 冬十月, 敎又遣道俗使, 靈巖郡僧正連訓法師, 奉宸馮瑄等, 宣諭綸旨, 請移居迦智山寺, 遂飛金錫, 遷入山門. 其山則元表大德之舊居也. 表德以法力, 施于有政, 是以, 乾元二年, 特敎植長生標柱, 至今存焉.

The Great King heard of his style and admired his teaching,[66] [to the extent that the king even] toiled in having his soul leave his body in sleep [to go visit Ch'ejing].[67] He wished to open a Sŏn monastery[68] and requested

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staunch supporter of the Buddha. Rājagṛha was likewise surrounded by five mountains, of which Vulture Peak was the highest and most famous for being the site where the Buddha delivered his teachings on several occasions.

63 This describes the phenomenon of lay donors' gathering.

64 The term for "hermitage" (Kr. *nanya*; Ch. *lanruo* 蘭若) is a transliteration of Sanskrit *āraṇya*, and refers to modest-sized mountain or forest hermitages where Buddhist monks could dedicate themselves to full-time solitary cultivation.

65 Literally, the "ford of the wood-cutter." It corresponds to the constellation of Sagittarius among the twelve mansions of the ecliptic path, and to the Tiger, the third of the Twelve Earthly Branches. Because it is a constellation belonging to the Eastern Palace or to the Blue Dragon, it is referred to as the place where dragons gather. The term "ford of the wood-cutter occurs in the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* (Zhuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals), were it refers to the tail of the (Blue) Dragon.

66 "Teaching" is a rendering for the term "path" (Kr. *to*; Ch. *dao* 道).

67 The term *menghun* 夢魂 refers to the ancient Chinese belief that the human soul leaves the body in sleep.

68 Literally, "Sŏn gate" (Ch. *chanfei* 禪扉): a reference to a Sŏn school or monastery.

him [Ch'ejing] to enter into the capital. In the sixth month of summer, he dispatched Kim Ŏn-kyŏng,[69] vice magistrate of Changsa County, to respectfully deliver tea and medicine[70] to him and to welcome him [to the capital]. The Master, dwelling in the quietude of clouds and cliffs, and under restriction by the period of observing the precepts,[71] relied on [the precedent of] Vimalakīrti's illness[72] and stated his refusal [following the example] of the Sixth Patriarch.[73] In the tenth month of winter, [the king] instructed and dispatched monks and lay envoys –the superintendent of the clergy[74] of Yŏng'am County, Dharma-master Yŏnhun;[75] and the herald of

69 There are differing opinions as to the identity of Kim Ŏn-kyŏng. On the one hand, he might be identical to Kim Un-kyŏng 金雲卿, the first person from Silla who passed the Tang civil service examinations open to foreigners in 821. Kim Un-kyŏng returned to Silla in 841 as imperial envoy of emperor Wuzong and at that time was employed as administrator of Zhizhou. At the time of the composition of Ch'ejing's stele inscription (884), he already was over eighty years old. A perhaps more plausible alternative is that Kim Ŏn-kyŏng is identical to Kim Su-chong 金遂宗 or one of his descendants. Kim Su-chong was renowned for his literary skills. The lithographic stūpa inscription of Tong Porim-sa and an inscription on the statue of Buddha Vairocana (at the same monastery) were composed by him as well. Presumably, he participated as a donor in the building of Ch'ejing's stūpa, as he had been appointed district magistrate of Changsa. The district (or county) of Changsa was located near present-day Koch'ang, North Chŏlla Province.

70 The term translated as medicine, *yak* (Ch. *yao* 藥) is to be understood as referring to edible substances that preserve health, not to a medical drug or remedy for any sort of illness.

71 This refers to the annual summer-retreat which actually lasted for the duration of three lunar months, namely: from the sixteenth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month, roughly corresponding to the rainy season in India. During that time, monks are supposed to dedicate themselves mainly to the cultivation of Sŏn or to the study of Buddhist texts.

72 In the sūtra bearing his name, the layman Vimalakīrti, out of his compassion for sentient beings and as a strategy for teaching (*upāya*), pretends to be seriously ill. Knowing this, the Buddha instructs each of his disciples to go to ask after his health and thus be instructed by him.

73 When Empress Dowager Wu sent a letter composed by her son, Tang emperor Xiaohua, inviting the Sixth Patriarch Huineng to court, the latter, following Vimalakīrti's example, declined on the pretext of being ill.

74 The term translated here is *sŭngjŏng* (Ch. *sengzheng* 僧正), an official cleric post in Late Silla. In China, references to sengzheng appear for the period of the Southern dynasties. It refers to a state-designated monk responsible for the whole Buddhist clergy in Later Qin (384–417).

royal decrees Ping Sŏn– to announce the royal decree and request [him] to transfer his residence to the monastery on Kaji-san.[76] Thereupon he [took his] flying golden cane[77] and moved into the mountain monastery [on Kaji-san]. That mountain was formerly the dwelling place of the great virtuous monk Wŏnp'yo.[78] By means of his Dharma-power, the great virtuous monk Wŏnp'yo participated in government affairs. Therefore, in the second year of Qianyuan era [759], [King [Kyŏngdŏk][79] gave the special instruction to plant the signposts of longevity,[80] which are still extant now.

宣帝十四年仲春, 副守金彦卿, 夙陳弟子之禮, 嘗爲入室之賓, 減清俸, 出私財, 市鐵二千五百斤鑄盧舍那佛一軀, 以莊禪師所居梵宇. 教下望水里南等宅, 共出金一百六十分, 租二千斛, 助充裝餝功德, 寺隷宣教省. 咸通辛巳歲, 以十方施資, 廣其禪宇, 慶畢功日, 禪師莅焉, 虹之與蜺, 貫徹堂內, 分輝耀室, 渥彩燭人. 此乃堅牢告祥, 娑迦表瑞也.

In the second month of spring, the fourteenth year of the Xuandi era [860], the vice magistrate Kim Ŏn-kyŏng, who previously had displayed the rite of

75 Dharma-master Yŏnhun possibly is identical to Yŏnhun 然訓, mentioned as monastic supervisor in the "Record of the Pole of the Nine-storey Stūpa of Hwangnyong-sa."

76 I.e. Porim-sa.

77 Literally, "with his flying golden cane." A flying cane is often used as a synonym for a travelling monk.

78 According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* (Biographies of Eminent Monks Compiled during the Song Dynasty) in 982 by Zanning (919–1001), Wŏnp'yo (d.u.) was a monk from Silla who traveled to India via Tang China during the Tianbao era (742–756). After his pilgrimage, he returned to China, bringing with him the *Huayan jing* in eighty fascicles and remained active there until the persecution of Buddhism during the Huichang era (841–846). However, this account does not square with the contents of Ch'ejing's inscription.

79 Kyŏngdŏk 景德 (r. 742–765) was the thirty-fifth king of Silla.

80 "Signposts of Longevity" (Kr. *changsaeng p'yoju* 長生標柱) were planted in the ground to demarcate the territory under jurisdiction of a specific monastery. Those at Porim-sa dated from the Silla dynasty and were the oldest extant ones in Korea until their destruction during the Korean War (1950–1953).

discipleship [to Ch'ejing], now became a disciple entering the [abbot's] room.[81] He substracted from his wages and donated his private wealth to purchase two thousand five hundred catties[82] of iron and to cast a statue of Vairocana Buddha, which he enshrined in the monastery where the Sŏn Master resided. [The king] ordered the Mangsu and the Rinam clans[83] to collectively provide one hundred and sixty grains of gold and two thousand bushels [of grain] in order to assist in providing [the expenses for] the decorations [of the monastery]. He placed the monastery under the jurisdiction of the Secretariat for the Promulgation of Royal Edicts.[84] In the eighteenth year of the sexagenary cycle, in the Xiantong era [861], the monastery was expanded with the wealth bestowed from the ten quarters.[85] On the day celebrating the completion [of the monastery], the Sŏn Master was attending [the ceremony] when a rainbow and its reflection penetrated and pervaded the inside of the [monastery's main] hall. The [rainbow] separated and [one part] illuminated the building [while the other part] brightly shone on the people. This was Pṛthivī and Sāgara heralding [impending] auspicious events.[86]

廣明元年三月九日, 告諸依止曰, "吾今生報業盡, 就木乖成, 汝等, 當善護持, 無至隳怠." 至孟夏仲旬二日, 雷電一山, 自酉至戌. 十三日子夜, 上方地震, 及天曉, 右脇臥終. 享齡七十有七, 僧臘五十二. 於是, 弟子英惠, 清奐等, 八百餘人, 義深

81 I.e., Kim Ŏn-kyŏng became his close lay disciple, entering the abbot room for instruction.

82 See the table of weights and measures appended to this volume.

83 The Mangsu and Rinam clans were two of the thirty-five powerful clans in Kyŏngju, known as the Kŭm'ipt'aek 金入宅 (lit. "gold-revenue houses") and are mentioned in the *Samguk yusa*.

84 Secretariat for the Promulgation of Royal Edicts (Sŏnkyosŏng 宣教省). References to this institution also appears in the inscription of the stūpa of Sŏn Master Chijŭng Chisŏn (824–882) –the founder of the Huiyang-san school of Sŏn– at Pong'am-sa. Silla's Sŏnkyosŏng corresponds to the Sŏnjosŏng 宣詔省 of Parhae (Bohai) and the Menxiasheng 門下省 (i.e., the chancellery) of the Tang.

85 I.e., from donors all over the country.

86 Pṛthivī (堅牢) and Sāgara (娑迦) refer to the earth goddess and sea goddess, respectively. These deities from the Indian pantheon have been assimilated as protectors of the Dharma into Buddhism.

考妣, 情感乾坤, 追慕攀號, 聲動溪谷. 以其月十四日, 葬於王山松臺, 壘塔安厝.

On the ninth day of the third month in the first year of the Guangming era [880], [Ch'ejing] announced to his disciples, "As the karmic retribution sustaining my present existence has been exhausted, I am about to become like a fallen tree. You [monks] should well protect and sustain [the Dharma] and not give way to laziness." On the twelfth day of the fourth month of summer, thunder and lightning [character missing] [shook the entire] mountain from the hour of the cock[87] up to the hour of the dog.[88] At midnight of the thirteenth day, the ground beneath his room quaked and he passed away at dawn while lying on his right side. He was seventy-seven years old and had been a monk for fifty-two years. Thereupon his disciples Yŏnghye, Ch'ŏnghwan and over eight hundred other disciples, [grieved] with the righteousness as deep as that of having lost one's parents and an emotion affecting heaven and earth. They remembered him [fondly], struck the ground and wailed, their cries moving mountain streams and valleys. On the fourteenth day of that month, they buried[89] him [i.e., his relics] at the pine tree terrace on Wang-san. They erected a stūpa wherein they enshrined [his remains].

嗚乎, 禪師名留於此. 魂魄何之生, 離五濁, 超十八空, 樂寂滅而不歸, 遺法林而永秀, 豈唯濟生靈於沙界. 實亦裨聖化於三韓. 禮云, "別子爲祖." 康成注云, "子若始來在此國者, 後世以爲祖." 是以, 達摩爲唐第一祖, 我國則以儀大師, 爲第一祖, 居禪師爲第二祖, 我師第三祖矣.

Alas, although the Sŏn Master's reputation will remain here [in this world], where will his souls[90] be reborn? Having abandoned the five turbidities[91] and

87 Corresponding to 5–7PM.

88 Corresponding to 7–9PM.

89 The character *zang* 葬 means "to bury", not "to be cremated." Whether Ch'ejing was buried or cremated remains unclear. Possibly he was first cremated and then his relics were buried.

90 The term rendered as "souls" is *hunpo* 魂魄, a compound term referring to the two types of souls believed to comprise the human spirit in early Chinese thought, antedating the introduction of Buddhism. Po denotes the earthly aspect of the soul, which first comes into existence as human life

transcended the eighteen types of emptiness,[92] he rejoiced in the quiescent extinction without rebirth,[93] and left behind a forest of Dharma[94] perpetually luxuriant. How could he only have saved sentient beings in innumerable worlds as numerous as the sands of the Ganges? Actually he also assisted the royal edification[95] in the Three Han.[96] In the *Book of Rites* it is said, "A son other [than the eldest] becomes the ancestor."[97] Kangcheng commented [on it] saying,[98] "If you are the first one to come and stay in this country,

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begins; after po has been produced, hun, or the heavenly aspect of the soul emerges. Traditionally, hun is the spirit of a person's vital force that is expressed in consciousness and intelligence, and po is the spirit of a person's physical nature that is expressed in bodily strength and movements. At the moment of death, hun gradually disperses in heaven, and po returns to earth.

91 The five turbidities (S. *pañca kaṣāyāḥ*) refer to signs of decay concomitant with the decline of the Dharma. The first (*kalpa-kaṣāya*) refers to the aeon in which wars, epidemics, and famine prevail. The second (*dṛṣṭi-kaṣāya*) refers to the chaotic situation caused by the prevalence of wrong views. The third (*kleśa-kaṣāya*) refers to the profusion of defilements. The fourth (*sattva-kaṣāya*) refers to the moral degeneration of sentient beings, and the fifth (*āyu-kaṣāya*) to the significant decrease of their life-span.

92 The eighteen types of emptiness correspond to a way to categorize emptiness according to the criteria of essence and function. For a list and explanation thereof, see *Dazhidulun* 大智度論, T. 1509.25.285.

93 I.e., nirvāṇa.

94 The term "forest of Dharma" (Ch. *falin* 法林) is a metaphor for the Buddhist teachings, as numerous as the trees in a forest. Here, it specifically refers to Ch'ejing's teachings of Sŏn.

95 The term translated as "edification", *hua* 化, literally means "to transform." In a Buddhist context, it refers to teaching or converting people, causing them to understand the Buddhist truth. In a secular context, it refers to the ruler's edification of his subjects.

96 The Three Han is a common reference to the three kingdoms on the Korean peninsula, namely Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla.

97 The full quote occurs in the "Record of Small matters in the Dress of Mourning" (*Sang Fu Xiao Ji* 喪服小記) of the *Liji*, as follows:"When a son other than (the eldest) became the ancestor (of a branch of the same line), his successor was its Honoured Head, and he who followed him (in the line) was its smaller Honoured Head." (喪服小記: 別子為祖, 繼別為宗, 繼禰者為小宗).

98 Kangzheng was the *zi* 字 (given name) of Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), a representative scholar of the Old Text tradition (*guwen* 古文) of the Later Han dynasty. A native of Gaomi District, Beihai, he studied the *Great Learning (Daxue)* under Zhang Gongxu and Ma Rong. He wrote commentaries

later generations will consider you as their ancestor."[99] Thus Bodhidharma became the first patriarch of Tang [China]. In our country [of Silla] the Great Master Toŭi became the first patriarch. Sŏn Master Yŏmgŏ became the second patriarch. Our master [Pojo Ch'ejing] became the third patriarch.

中和三年, 春三月十五日, 門人義車等, 纂輯行狀, 遠詣王居, 請建碑銘. 用光佛道, 聖上慕眞宗之理, 憫嚴師之心. 敎所司定, 謚曰普照, 塔號彰聖, 寺額寶林, 褒其禪宗禮也. 翌日, 又詔微臣, 修撰碑讚, 垂裕後人, 臣兢惶承命, 直筆爲詞. 但以供奉, 宸衷敢避文林嗤哂. 詞曰,

On the fifteenth day of the third month of spring, in the third year of Zhonghe era [883], his disciples –Ŭikŏ[100] and others– compiled [Ch'ejing's] account of conduct.[101] They traveled far to the royal residence [in the capital Kyŏngju], requesting [King Hŏn'gang] to establish a stele inscription [for Ch'ejing's stūpa] in order to illuminate the Buddha's teachings.[102] His Majesty [the King] venerated the principles of the true teaching and grieved for the mind of the strict master.[103] Thus he instructed the office in charge to select the posthumous title 'Pojo' [Universal Illumination'] and confer the title 'Ch'angsŏng' ['Manifested Saint'] on his stūpa, and a monastery plaque

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to *Maoshi* 毛詩, *Sanli* 三禮, *Zhouyi* 周易, *Shangshu* 尙書, *Lunyu* 論語, *Xiaojing* 孝經, and his own monograph, the *Liuyilun* 六藝論.

99 A quote from the book Dazhuan 10 ("Great Treatise") in the *Liji* (Classic of Rites), fasc. 34.

100 Otherwise unknown.

101 The account of conduct (*xingzhuang* 行狀) refers to the biography or hagiography of a Chan master compiled by his disciples. Stele inscriptions compiled by literati were often based upon such account of conducts. See, Sem Vermeersch. "The Eminent Koryŏ Monk: Stele Inscriptions as Sources for the Lives and Careers of Koryŏ monks." *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 20, no. 2 (2007): 115–147.

102 I.e., to extol Buddhism.

103 The term "strict master" *ŏmsa* 嚴師 can either refer to the master as being stern and austere, or likewise it can just be a term of respect without such a connotation, as, for example, in *ŏmch'in* 嚴親 for one's parents.

[bearing the name of] 'Porim' ['Forest of Jewels'].[104] [This was according to] the custom to honor his Sŏn lineage. Moreover, the next day he decreed me, an insignificant official, to compose the stele eulogy, [in order] to bequeath [the master's memory] copiously to future generations. I fearfully and apprehensively upheld the order, and I frankly wrote[105] these words. As I merely offer this upholding the king's inner feelings, how could I dare to avoid the ridicule of literati? The inscription says,

禪心不定兮, 至理歸空.
如活瑠璃兮, 在有無中.
神莫通照兮, 鬼其敢衝.
守無不足兮, 施之無窮.
劫盡恒沙兮, 妙用靡終.[其一]

The Sŏn mind[106] is not fixed, the ultimate principle reverts to emptiness.
While being active, it [i.e., the mind] is like lapis lazuli,[107] dwelling within existence and nonexistence.
Among its spiritual [powers] there are none which do not penetrate and illuminate [everything].[108] How could ghosts dare clash [against them]?
In guarding it, there is no deficiency;[109] in giving it, there is no limit.

104 Porim (Ch. *Baolin* 寶林), refers to the groves of seven kinds of jewels adorning Buddha Amitābha's pure land). It also refers to Baolin Monastery, the monastery of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng in northern Guangdong Province.

105 The term *chikp'il* 直筆, literally "holding the brush upright while writing" means to write in a plain and frank language.

106 Sŏn mind (*Sŏn sim* 禪心) refers to a mind absorbed in Sŏn cultivation.

107 Lapis lazuli (Ch. *liu li* 瑠璃, S. *vaiḍūrya*) is a blue-green gem. It is one of the "seven jewels" (Ch. *qibao* 七寶 S. *sapta-ratna*) listed in Buddhist texts.

108 I.e., the mind has spiritual powers able to transcend material and spatial limitations.

109 Guarding the mind consists in maintaining awareness and observance of one's own mind to prevent it from engaging in delusory patterns of activity.

For an aeon to end [it takes as long as the countless] sands of the Ganges; [but] the sublime function [of the mind] does not end.

寥廓舍那, 苞育萬物,
蠢蠢衆生, 違舍那律.
二旣同體, 復誰是佛.
迷之又迷, 道乃斯畢.[其二]

Empty and vast is [the dharmadhātu of] Vairocana, it shelters and nurtures the myriad things.
The wriggling sentient beings go against the rhythm of Vairocana.
Since the two [i.e., sentient beings and Vairocana] have the same essence, who [else] again is the Buddha?
Delusion and further delusion. The path is the end of that.

大哉禪師, 生乎海域.
克鍊菩提, 精修惠德.
觀空離空, 見色非色,
强稱爲印, 難名所得.[其三]

Great indeed is the Sŏn Master, born in the Sea Region.[110]
He aptly cultivated [and obtained] bodhi,[111] and diligently cultivated the virtue of wisdom.
Having contemplated emptiness, he transcended emptiness. Having seen form, he [understood that which is] not form.
It is arbitrarily called the "[mind-] seal",[112] but what he achieved is difficult

110 The "Sea Region" (Kr. *haeyŏk*, Ch. *haiyu* 海域) refers to the country of Silla.

111 Bodhi (Ch. *puti* 菩提) means "awakening."

112 The seal here refers to the mind-seal (Ch. *xinyin* 心印), a reference to the Buddha-mind inherent in all sentient beings and the direct approach of Chan, which asserted independence from language (S. *citta-mudrā*). See the occurrence in the Platform Sutra 六祖壇經 T 2008.48.345c10 and Soothill p. 150.

to name.[113]

有爲世界, 無數因緣.
境來神動, 風起波翻.
須調意馬, 勤伏心猿,
以斯爲寶, 施于後賢.[其四]

In the conditioned world are innumerable causes and conditions.[114]
When [external] objects appear, the mind is stirred up, [like] when the wind rises, waves mount.
It is necessary to control the consciousness which is like a horse, and diligently tame the mind which is like a monkey.[115]
This [teaching of Sŏn] should be treasured so as to be bestowed to future worthies.[116]

乘波若舟, 涉愛河水,
彼岸旣登, 唯佛是擬.
牛車已到, 火宅任燬,
法相雖存, 哲人其萎.[其五]

Riding the boat of prajñā (wisdom), he crossed the waters of the river of lust.[117]

113 I.e., it is difficult to express in words.

114 Causes and conditions (Ch. *yinyuan* 因緣, S. *hetu-pratyaya*) refer to primary and secondary causality.

115 The mind of sentient beings is filled with delusions. It grasps at external objects and, being restless, it is unable to concentrate. This is compared to horses and monkeys restlessly running about from one sense-object to another.

116 I.e., the teachings of Sŏn should be preserved for the sake of future generations.

117 Lust, or desire is together with anger and ignorance referred to as the "three poisons" (S. *tri-doṣa*, Ch. *sandu* 三毒) affecting all sentient beings and keeping them in the realm of rebirth. Lust (Ch. *ai* 愛, S. *rāga*) is compared to a river in which sentient beings are drowned.

Whether one has already climbed the other shore[118] is something that only the Buddha can discern.
As the ox cart has arrived, the burning house can be left to be destroyed by fire.[119]
Although the characteristics of his teaching survive, the wise person has withered [i.e., passed away].

叢林無主, 山門若空,
錫放衆虎, 鉢遣群龍.
唯餘香火, 追想音容,
刊此貞石, 紀法將雄.[其六]

The large monastery[120] is without master, the mountain monastery[121] seems empty.
His staff drove away herds of tigers, his bowl expelled crowds of dragons.[122]
Only the vestiges of burning incense reminds us of his voice and countenance.
Carving this pure stone [i.e., stele], I wish that the Dharma may expand magnificently.

118 The "other shore" (Ch. *bi'an* 彼岸) is a metaphor for nirvāṇa. For sentient beings ensnared in the cycle of rebirth (S. saṃsāra), of birth and death, the "other shore" of nirvāṇa represents salvation.

119 A reference to the Chapter of Parables in the *Lotus Sutra*. The burning house refers to the world burning because of defilements and suffering, the ox cart refers to the bodhisattva vehicle which ultimately carries all sentient beings, saving them from the burning house that is the world.

120 The term *ch'ongnim* 叢林 (Ch. *conglin*), literally a "forest of trees", refers to a large monastery, usually affiliated with the Sŏn (Ch. Chan) tradition. As a forest consists of many trees, so does a large monastery consist of halls and hermitages within and outside of the monastic compounds.

121 Lit. "mountain gate" (*sanmen* 山門).

122 A reference to the Buddha subduing a poisonous Nāga (a snake, but often rendered as "dragon" in Chinese) by means of his begging bowl. As a result Uruvilvā Kāśyapa and his thousand disciples abandoned their creeds and took refuge to the Buddha. See *Foben xingji* 佛本行集經 fasc. 41, the chapter on the three Kāśyapa brothers, T. 190.3.843a).

中和四年, 歲次甲辰季秋九月戊午朔, 旬有九日丙子建. 從頭第七行禪字已下, 弟子前兵部侍郎, 入朝使, 殿中大監, 賜紫金魚袋, 金彥卿書, 興輪寺僧, 釋賢暢, 刻字.

Erected on the nineteenth day of the ninth month of autumn in the forty-first year of the sexagenary cycle, in the fourth year of the Zhonghe era [884]. The eulogy, starting from the character 'Sŏn' in the seventh line onwards [was composed by Ch'ejing's lay] disciple Kim Ŏn-kyŏng, former Vice Director in the Bureau of Military Personnel, Envoy to the Tang Court, Head of the Palace Directorate, and Recipient of the Purple-and-Gold Fish-Pouch. Characters carved by Sŏk Hyŏnch'ang, monk at Hŭngnyun-sa.[123]

123 Hŭngnyun-sa was one of the seven monasteries built in Kyŏngju at the location of the grove of the heavenly mirror (*Ch'ŏngyŏng-rim* 天鏡林) in 544.

II

STELE INSCRIPTION OF CHIN'GAM HYESO

(河東 雙谿寺 眞鑒禪師 大空靈塔碑文)

2.

Stele Inscription of Chin'gam Hyeso

河東 雙谿寺 眞鑒禪師 大空靈塔碑文

Stele Inscription of Taegong, the Numinous Stūpa of Sŏn Master Chin'gam, at Ssanggye-sa in Hadong.

唐海東, 故眞鑑禪師碑[題額]
有唐新羅國, 故知異山, 雙谿寺, 教諡眞鑿禪師碑銘, 并序.

Stele Inscription and Preface of the late Sŏn Master Chin'gam [whose posthumous title has been bestowed by royal order], of Ssanggye-sa on Chiri-san, Silla country in the Tang period.

前西國都統巡官, 承務郎侍御史內供奉, 賜紫金魚袋, 臣, 崔致遠, 奉敎, 撰, 幷書篆額.

Composed -and inscribed in seal script upon royal order by the subject Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn,[1] Former Deputy Governor of the Army and Military

1 Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn 崔致遠 (857–904?) was a noted Korean Confucian official, philosopher, and poet of the late Unified Silla period (668–935). He studied for many years in Tang China, passed the Tang imperial examination, and rose to high office there before returning to Silla, where he made ultimately futile attempts to reform the governmental apparatus of a declining Silla state. In his final years he turned more towards Buddhism and became a hermit scholar residing in and around Korea's Haeinsa temple. Among his numerous writings related to Buddhism figure four extant stele inscriptions, referred to as *Sasan pimyŏng* 四山碑銘, ("Four mountain steles"): 1. the stele inscription for National Preceptor Chingam at Ssanggye-sa, 887; 2. the stele inscription for Taesungbok-sa 大崇福寺

Inspector in the Western Country [i.e., Tang China], Chargé d'affaires, servant and imperial censor,[2] Auxiliary Palace Censor, and Recipient of the Purple-and-Golden Fish-Pouch.[3]

> 夫道不遠人, 人無異國. 是以, 東人之子, 爲釋爲儒, 必也西浮大洋, 重譯從學, 命寄刳木, 心懸寶洲. 虛往實歸, 先難後獲, 亦猶采玉者, 不憚崐丘之峻, 探珠者, 不辭驪壑之深.

The path is not distant from human beings[4] and human beings are not different due to country. Therefore, the sons of the Eastern people [i.e., Silla] are certain to become Buddhists or Confucians. They floated to the west over the great ocean [to China where] they devoted themselves to the [further] study [of the Path] through bilingual translators. Their lives depended on scooped out wood [i.e., wooden ships to cross the sea] and their minds were focused on the precious continent [i.e., China]. They went [abroad] empty [-handed] but returned replete [with knowledge].[5] At first they endured

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in Kyŏngju, 885; 3. the stele inscription for Nanghye at Sŏngju-sa, 890; 4. the stele inscription for Great Master Chijŭng 智證 at Pongam-sa, 924.

2 Yi Jikwan interprets the term *nei gongfeng* 內供奉 as referring to a monastic office 僧職 at the court in charge of Buddhist services. However, Hucker (entry 4210) describes it as Auxiliary Palace Censor.

3 Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn was, during the Huang Chao 黃巢 revolt (875–884), a retainer 從事官 for Gao Pian 高騈, the chief military inspector in charge of suppressing the revolt. On Gao Pian's recommendation, the Tang emperor Xizong granted him those titles.

4 As the path exists everywhere, regardless of place or space, unhampered by physical boundaries. The expression occurs in the *Zhongyong* 中庸, chapter 13, as "The master [Zi] said, The path is not far from human beings. If the path for human beings is distantit cannot be the [genuine] path." 人之爲道而遠人 不可以爲道. The Koryŏ monk Yaun 野雲 states in his "Text on Self-Admonition" 自警文, that, "The ancient said, 'The path is not far from human beings. It is human beings who distance themselves from the path.'" "古曰 道不遠人 人自遠矣."

5 This expression occurs in *Lunyu* 論語, Yongye Chapter 雍也, "He asked about benevolence ["perfect virtue"]. Confucius said, 'The man of virtue makes the difficulty to be overcome his first business, and success only a subsequent consideration; this may be called perfect virtue.'" "問仁 子曰 先難而後獲 可謂仁矣."

hardships, but afterwards they acquired [awakening], just like those who gather jade do not dread the heights of the Kunlun Mountains[6] or those who seek pearls do not shun the depth of the ocean inhabited by the black dragon.[7]

遂得慧炬, 則光融五乘, 嘉肴則味飫六籍. 競使千門入善, 能令一國興仁.

Eventually, they obtained the torch of wisdom and then its light fused the five vehicles.[8] As for exquisite food, they tasted and satiated on the six books.[9] They competed to make all households accede to goodness, so that they could make the entire country promote humaneness.

而學者, 或謂, "身毒與闕里之設敎也, 分流異體, 圜鑿方枘, 互相矛楯, 守滯一隅." 嘗試論之, 說詩者, 不以文害辭, 不以辭害志. 禮所謂, "言豈一端而已, 夫各有所當."

However, students sometimes say, "Establishing the teachings of the Buddha [lit. India][10] and Confucius [lit., Que Village][11] will divide the stream

6 Lit. the Kun Hills. The height of the Kunlun Mountains is given in the *Zhishuijing* 治水經 as being fifty thousand *li* and the mountains are famous as a source of Jade.

7 Lihe 驪壑 is a deep ocean where black dragons (*lilong* 驪龍) reputedly live.

8 The five vehicles (*wucheng* 五乘) here refer to five stages of karmic reward or fruition: 1) rebirth as a human being conveyed by observing the five precepts. 2) rebirth as a divine being (*deva*) by having observed the ten forms of wholesome action. 3) rebirth as a śrāvaka by having understood and practiced the path according to the four noble truths; 4) rebirth as a pratyekabuddha by means of having understood the twelvefold link of causation; 5) rebirth as a bodhisattva for having practised the six perfections (*pāramitā*).

9 The six books (*liu ji* 六籍) refer to six sūtras, namely: *Mahāprajñāpāramitā* 大般若經, *Diamond* 金剛經, *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* 維摩經, *Laṅkāvatāra* 楞伽經, *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經, and the *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經. Likewise, in the context of Confucianism, six books refer to six classics (*jing* 經), namely, *Odes* 詩, *Documents* 書, *Rites* 禮, *Book of Changes* 易, *Music* 樂, and *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋.

10 Here, the term used for Buddha is Shendu 身毒, which corresponds to the ancient term for India, Tianzhu 天竺, the country where Śākyamuni Buddha was born.

11 The term for Confucius (Kongzi 孔子) used here is Queli 闕里, referring to Confucius' birthplace in Qufu 曲阜 District (縣), Shandong Province.

and differentiate the essence, [unsuitable like] a square peg in a round hole.[12] [Thus], they will mutually contradict, protecting their own corner [i.e., each side unilaterally adhering to their one-sided position]." In attempting to discuss this, [I say], "Those who explain the *Odes* do not use the text to do violence to the verse and do not use the verse to do violence to its meaning."[13] As it is said in the *Book of Rites* [Liji],[14] "How could a word have only one side? Each [side] has a valid point."[15]

故廬峯慧遠, 著論謂, "如來之與周孔, 發致雖殊, 所歸一揆, 體極不兼應者, 物不能兼受故也."

Therefore, Huiyuan of Lu-shan[16] wrote a treatise[17] which says that

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12 The expression "to plug a square peg in a round hole" occurs in the *Chuci* 楚辭, "Song Yu's jiubian [nine debates]" 宋玉九辯, "圓枘而方鑿兮."

13 The expression "not impairing words with letters, not impairing meaning with words" occurs verbatim in *Mengzi* 孟子, Wanzhang Chapter 萬章: "不以文害辭 不以辭害志."

14 *Liji* 禮記 or "The Book of Rites", is one of the Five Classics (*wu jing* 五經). The main text was traditionally considered to have been compiled by Confucius (BCE 551–479) himself, to which he added the character *jing* 經, hence its original title was *Lijing* 禮經. However, approximately in the second century BCE, Da Dai 大戴 (original name Dai De 戴德) and his cousin Xiao Dai 小戴 (original name Dai Sheng 戴聖) edited the original text and it was no longer referred to as *Lijing*, but as *Liji*. The *Liji* emphasizes ethics.

15 The phrase "Each [side] has a valid point." occurs verbatim in the *Liji* 禮記, Jiyi Chapter 祭義.

16 Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠: monk in the Eastern Jin 東晋 (335–417). Since he dwelled at Donglin-sa 東林寺 on Lushan 廬山, he is also referred to as Lufeng Huiyuan (Huiyuan from the Lu Peak 廬峰). He had studied the Six Classics at the age of thirteen, and afterwards achieved a thorough understanding of Lao Zhuang philosophy. At the age of twenty-one, he became a disciple of Daoan 道安, under whom he pursued his studies. In 373, he moved to Lushan with several disciples and built Donglin Monastery. With a following of 123 people, he founded the White Lotus Society (Bailian she 白蓮社) for practising the recitation of the Buddha's name (*nianfo*). While residing for over thirty years in Lushan, Huiyuan dispatched two of his disciples, Fajing 法淨 and Faling 法領 to the Western Regions (Xiyu 西域) to seek Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist sūtras. He requested Sengqietipo (Saṅghadeva 僧伽提婆 to translate the *Apitanmo xin lun* (Abhidharmahṛdaya śāstra) 阿毘曇心論 and the Sanfadu lun 三法度論, and *Dharmaruci* 曇摩流支

"although the principles stated by the Tathāgata, the Duke of Zhou, and Confucius[18] differ, they revert to one principle. Those who [cling to] the edge of their [partial] doctrine [lit. the doctrinal essence] without corresponding [with other doctrinal viewpoints], are therefore unable to concurrently accept [all] things."

沈約有云, "孔發其端, 釋窮其致." 眞可謂識其大者, 始可與言至道矣. 至若佛語心法, 玄之又玄, 名不可名, 說無可說. 雖云得月, 指或坐忘, 終類係風, 影難行捕. 然陟遐自迩, 取譬何傷.

Shen Yue[19] once said, "Confucius enunciated its beginning, Śākyamuni

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to translate the shisonglü 十誦律 (the vinaya of Sarvāstivāda school), thereby greatly contributing to Chinese Buddhism. Later the Tang emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 conferred on him the posthumous title of Bianjue Dashi 辨覺大師, and the Song emperor Taizong 太宗 gave him the title of Yuanwu Dashi 圓悟大師. Among his works figure the *Dazhidulun yaoyue* (Essentials of the *Dazhidu lun*)大智度論要約 in twenty fascicles, the *Shamen bujing wangxhe lun* (Monks do not pay homage to kings) 沙門不敬王者論, the *Faxing lun* (On the Dharma-nature) 法性論 in two fascicles, the *Shamen tanfu lun* (On monks wearing the robe over one shoulder) 沙門袒服論 in one fascicle. The tale 故事 of "The Three Gentlemen Laughing at Tiger Brook" 虎溪三笑, involving the Buddhist monk Huiyuan, the Confucian scholar Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, and the Daoist Lu Xiujing 陸修靜 is well-known.

17 The treatise in question is the *Monks do not pay homage to kings* 沙門不敬王者論, and the content referred to here is found in the fourth chapter, 體極不兼應, which argues that Buddhist monks are not supposed to bow to the secular ruler. The ruler criticized this argument as unreasonable and subsequently ordered monks to bow. However, this order was not actually implemented. But in 403, the second year of the Yuanxing 元興 era, the prime minister Huan Xuan 桓玄 issued such an order again and as a response, in the following year, Huiyuan compiled this treatise to refute his arguments.

18 Zhou Kong 周孔, literally "the Duke of Zhou and Confucius [Kongzi]" is also used as a generic term for the sages or the wise men (Ch. *shengren* 聖人). The term Zhou Kong is not to be confounded with the homophonous term Zhougong 周公, referring to the Duke of Zhou. He was a politician and son of the king of Zhou. His surname was Ji 姬 and his name Dan 旦. His elder brother assisted the king of Zhou in destroying the state of Yin 殷 and in establishing a solid foundation for the state of Zhou. He is known for having reorganized the system of rites and music 禮樂制度 and having composed the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty* (Zhouli 周禮).

19 Shen Yue 沈約 (441–513): poet, scholar of phonemics 音韻學, and politician of the Liang 梁 dynasty. His courtesy name 字 was Xiuwen 休文, and he was originaly from Wukang in Zhejiang

thoroughly elucidated its principle." He [i.e., Shen Yue] truly can be considered someone who knows the greatness [of Buddhism]. He was the first with whom one could speak about the supreme path. Regarding the Buddha's spoken words on the mind-dharma,[20] it is the arcane within the arcane; the name that cannot be named, the explanation that cannot be explained.[21] Although it is referred to as pointing at the moon or sitting in oblivion [of the surrounding world], in the end it is like [attempting] to bind the wind or like the difficulty of capturing a shadow. But as one progresses from what is far to what is near, what harm is there in using metaphors?

且尼父謂門弟子曰, "予欲無言, 天何言哉." 則彼淨名之默對文殊, 善逝之密傳迦葉, 不勞鼓舌, 能叶印心. 言天不言, 捨此奚適而得. 遠傳妙道, 廣耀吾鄉, 豈異人乎. 禪師是也.

Furthermore, Confucius said to his disciples, "I wish to be without words. What words does Heaven have?"[22] Then there is Vimalakīrti's silent reply to

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province 浙江省. He was a scholar in the Six Dynasties 六朝 (222–589) period, and a politician who was promoted to Director of the State Board 尚書令 under Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549). He is known for having set up the differentiation of the four tonal categories 四聲 of the Chinese language and having listed the eight taboos 八病 of poetry. He was well-versed in Buddhism as well, and he studied the consonants and vowels 聲韻 of the Sanskrit music written in Siddham characters 悉曇音樂. Among his works are the *Jinshu* (History of the Jin) 晉書 (100 vols.), *Sisheng pu* 四聲譜, *Songshu* (History of the Song) 宋書, *Qiji* 齊記, *Liang Wu ji* 梁武記, and his Collected Works or *Wenji* 文集.

20 Concerning the Buddha's discourse on the mind-dharma (*foyu xinfa* 佛語心法), see the chapter 一切佛語心品 [the core of all the Buddha's words] in Guṇabhadra's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (*Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經) (T. 670.16.480a).

21 That is, the mind-dharma is too profound to be expressed or explained through language.

22 This phrase is a quotation from the *Analects* or *Lunyu* (Chapter 19, Yanghuo 陽貨, 1 and 3). Its full context is as follows,

> "The Master said, 'I would prefer not speaking.'
> Zigong said, 'If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?'
> The Master said, 'Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?'"

Mañjuśrī[23] and the Sugata's secret transmission to Kāśyapa.[24] They did not work to move the tongue, yet they could harmonize with the mind-seal. If one says that heaven does not speak and abandons this, where can one go to obtain from afar the transmission of the sublime path in order to extensively illuminate our homeland? Who else can it be but the Sŏn Master [Chin'gam]?

禪師法諱, 慧昭, 俗姓崔氏. 其先漢族, 冠盖山東. 隋師征遼, 多沒驪貊, 有降志而爲遐甿者. 爰及聖唐, 囊括四郡, 今爲全州金馬人也. 父曰昌元, 在家有出家之行. 母顧氏, 嘗晝假寐, 夢一梵僧, 謂之曰, "吾願爲阿孃[方言謂母]之子." 因以瑠璃甖爲寄. 未幾娠禪師焉.

The Sŏn Master's Dharma-name was Hyeso, his secular surname was Ch'oe. His ancestors were Han Chinese, who had been officials in Shandong [Province].[25] When the Sui army invaded the Liao[dong Region], many were killed by the Yŏ and Yemaek.[26] [His ancestors] decided to surrender

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This exchange illustrates the widely-asserted point that the path, especially in the context of Chan (Sŏn), is not transmitted by relying on words. There is a tacit understanding without relying on words in the silent meeting between Confucius and Wen Boxue 溫伯雪.

23 See the episode in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra* 維摩詰經 where the layman Vimalakīrti remains silent in order to explain the gate of non-duality (不二法門), thereby earning the praise of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (Wenshu 文殊).

24 Sugata, or "Well Gone" (Ch. Shanshi 善逝) is one of the ten titles of a Buddha. The Buddha Śākyamuni transmitted the Dharma from mind to mind 以心傳心 to Mahākāśyapa when, on Vulture Peak, he hold up a flower to demonstrate the Dharma to the assembly of his disciples. Mahākāśyapa was the only person who understood and smiled 破顔微笑. This episode, referred to as the secret transmission to Kāśyapa, is one of the so-called "three places where Śākyamuni transmitted his mind (sanchu chuanxin 三處傳心) to Kāśyapa "secretly", that is, without relying on words. The other two places were at the Bahuputraka caitya (Duoci ta 多子塔) when he shared his seat with him; and when, after achieved his final nirvāṇa, he pushed his foot out of his coffin.

25 The term translated here as "powerful family" is *kwangae* (Ch. *guan'gai* 冠蓋, lit. "official hats and canopies." Originally, the term refers to a carriage driven by four horses, used in ancient China by members of the nobility or high officials.

26 In its second campaign to invade Koguryŏ, the Sui 隋 dynasty attacked Koguryŏ with an army

and to become distant vassals [of Koguryŏ]. Then, in the sagely Tang [dynasty], they were annexed into the four prefectures.[27] Now they became inhabitants of Kŭmma[28] in Chŏnju. [The Sŏn Master's] father was named Ch'angwŏn. While being a layman, he practiced the [the Buddhist] monastic life. His mother was from the Ko clan. Once, while sleeping during the day, she dreamt of an Indian monk who said to her "I wish to be [born as] your child."[29] Therefore he gave her a vessel of lapis lazuli glass.[30] Before long she became pregnant with the Sŏn Master.

生而不啼, 迺夙挺銷聲, 息言之勝牙也. 旣齓從戲, 必燌葉爲香, 采花爲供. 或西嚮危坐, 移晷未嘗動容. 是知善本, 固百千劫前所栽植, 非可跂而及者. 自丱梟弁,

of 1,130,000 soldiers. As the siege of the Yodong Fortress (Ch. Liaodong cheng 遼東城) took longer than initially anticipated, the generals Yu Zhongwen 于仲文 and Yu Wenshu 宇文述 dispatched an army of 300,000 to directly attack P'yŏngyang. At that time, Ŭlji Mundŏk 乙支文德, using the strategy of defensive warfare 縱深防禦戰略, dragged the enemy army into P'yŏngyang by inflicting on it seven defeats in seven battles, By using the tactics of protracted warfare, he caused the Sui army to run out of victuals and to lose their power of attack. When the Sui army finally retreated, he attacked it at Salsu 薩水, inflicting a deadly blow, annihilating it almost completely. The disaster of the Sui campaign against Koguryŏ ultimately was one among the main causes leading to the end of the Sui dynasty.

27 The T'ongsam 統三 of the Silla dynasty were integrated as vassals of the Tang after that diplomatic relations between Tang and Silla had been resumed.

28 Kŭmma 金馬 corresponds to present-day Iksan 益山 in North Chŏlla Province. When An Sŭng 安勝, the son born of a concubine of the Koguryŏ king Pojang 寶藏王 (r. 642–668), surrendered together with a retinue of 4,000 families to Silla in 670, they were made to settle down in Kŭmmajo 金馬渚 (present-day Iksan). Thus it is possible to assume that the ancestors of Sŏn Master Chin'gam were Han Chinese who came to Kŭmma together with An Sŭng.

29 Literally, "I wish to become the son of Ami." The text contains an explanatory note specifying that ami is a dialect term meaning "mother." The people of Chu 楚 and Qi 齊 pronounced the character *mu* 母 for mother as *mi* 彌, whereas the people in Jiangnan 江南 used the term *aqu* 阿區. It is possible that the Korean words for mother, ŏmi and ŏmŏni derive etymologically from these.

30 The word translated as "glass" is *yuri* (Ch. *liuli* 瑠璃, S. *vaiḍūrya*) or lapis lazuli, which often is mentioned in Buddhist texts in the context of "seven jewels."

> 志切反哺, 跬步不忘. 而家無斗儲, 又無尺壤. 可盜天時者, 口腹之養, 惟力是視. 乃裨販娵隅, 爲贍滑甘之業. 手非勞於結網. 心已契於忘筌. 能豐啜菽之資, 允叶采蘭之詠. 曁鍾鞯棘, 負土成墳, 迺曰, "鞠育之恩, 聊將力報希微之旨, 盍以心求, 吾豈匏爪, 壯齡滯跡."

When he was born he did not cry.[31] Then, from an early age he was outstanding and restrained [the sound of] his voice. He was an excellent sprout who desisted from speaking. Already at the age of losing baby teeth [i.e., six to seven years old],[32] when playing he was certain to burn leaves as incense and to pick flowers for offerings [to the Buddha]. Sometimes, he sat straight facing west, without shifting his posture even as the shadow of the sun moved. This acknowledges that his good roots[33] that definitely had been planted [into him] hundreds of thousands of aeons ago cannot be approximated even by standing on tiptoe. From his childhood until he reached adulthood, his determination to repay his parents was so intense that he never forgot it for even half a step. However, his family had neither [a] peck [of grain] stored nor did it have [a] foot of soil [to till]. He could steal from Heaven and the seasons[34] to support them with food. He only

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31 Since the Sŏn Master Chin'gam died in the fourth year of the Dazhong 大中 era (850) at the age of seventy-seven, he was born in 774.

32 The age of losing the milk teeth refers to a child of approximately six or seven years.

33 Lit. good roots (*shanben* 善本) is an alternate rendering of *shangen* 善根, the translation of the Sankrit term *kuśala mūla*.

34 The expression "to steal from Heaven and the seasons" (盜天地之時利) occurs in the *Liezi*, Tianrui 天瑞 Chapter.

> 齊之國樂大富, 宋之向氏大貧; 自宋之齊, 請其術. 國氏告之曰:「吾善為盜. 始吾為盜也, 一年而給, 二年而足, 三年大壤. 自此以往, 施及州閭.」向氏大喜, 喻其為盜之言, 而不喻其為盜之道, 遂踰垣鑿室, 手目所及, 亡不探也. 未及時, 以贓獲罪, 沒其先居之財. 向氏以國氏之謬己也, 往而怨之. 國氏曰:「若為盜若何?」向氏言其狀. 國氏曰:「嘻!若失為盜之道至此乎? 今將告若矣. 吾聞天有時, 地有利. 吾盜天地之時利, 云雨之滂潤, 山澤之產育, 以生吾禾, 殖吾稼, 筑吾垣, 建吾舍. 陸盜禽獸, 水盜魚鱉, 亡非盜也. 夫禾稼、土木、禽獸、魚鱉, 皆天之所生, 豈吾之所有? 然吾盜天而亡殃

could focus his efforts to this purpose.[35] Thus, he was a minor trader of fish[36] in order to provide [his parents with] refined and tasty food. His hands did not toil at weaving the nets [for] his mind already corresponded with having forgotten the bamboo fish trap.[37] He could abundantly provide [his parents] with bean soup[38] and harmonize [with them] by singing [the song] of plucking orchids.[39] Then when he lost his parents, he heaped up earth to form [the mound of] their grave. Thereupon he said, "For the kindness of having raised me, I merely used my physical strength to repay them. Should I not seek the subtle meaning[40] [of the path] with my mind? How could I be like a bitter gourd [hanging on a tree][41] and, in my vigorous years, obstruct the traces [of my path]?"

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35 The phrase rendered as "focusing his efforts solely to this purpose" 惟力是視 is derived from a similar phrase in the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, Entry for Xigong 僖公 twenty fourth year, "Charged to remove the danger of my ruler, I regarded but how I might be able to do it 除君之惡 唯力是視."

36 The term juyu is a Man barbarian term for fish. See, *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, Paidiao Chapter 排調: 蠻名魚為娵隅.

37 This expression derives from the saying deyu wangquan 得魚忘筌, meaning: "Having caught the fish, the trap may be forgotten." In the present context, this saying is to be understood as referring to the truth of Sŏn 禪理. That is, the mind having understood the principle of Sŏn, i.e., the mind having achieved awakening, words and language can be forgotten, i.e., one no longer needs to rely on words.

38 This expression occurs in the *Liji* 禮記, Tan Gong Chapter II:

> 子路曰:「傷哉貧也!生無以為養, 死無以為禮也」孔子曰:「啜菽飲水盡其歡, 斯之謂孝; 斂首足形, 還葬而無槨, 稱其財, 斯之謂禮」
>
> " 'Alas for the poor! While (their parents) are alive, they have not the means to nourish them; and when they are dead, they have not the means to perform the mourning rites for them.' Confucius said, 'Bean soup, and water to drink, while the parents are made happy, may be pronounced filial piety.' "

39 Singing a song for one's parents as a sign of filial piety.

40 The term xiwei 希微 occurs in the *Daodejing* 老子道德經, chapter 14, "Looking for it but not seeing it is called *yi*, listening for it but not hearing it is called *xi*, grasping for it but not getting it is called wei. Because these three cannot be clearly known they are fused into one." 視之不見 名曰夷 聽之不聞 名曰希 搏之不得名曰微 此三者不可致詰故混而爲一." In the present context, it refers to the highest vehicle 最上乘, the truth of Sŏn 禪理.

41 This expression is found in the *Lunyu* 論語, Yanghuo Chapter 陽貨, "The master said, 'Am I a

遂於貞元廿年, 詣歲貢使, 求爲榜人, 寓足西泛. 多能鄙事, 視險如夷, 揮楫慈航, 超截苦海. 及達彼岸, 告國使曰, "人各有志, 請從此辭." 遂行至滄州, 謁神鑒大師. 投體方半, 大師怡然曰, "戲別匪遙, 喜再相遇." 遽令削染. 頓受印契, 若火沾燥艾, 水注卑邃. 然徒中相謂曰, "東方聖人, 於此復見."

Consequently, in the twentieth year of the Zhenyuan era [804], he went to the annual tribute envoy [to Tang China] seeking to become a boatman, and obtained passage on [a boat] sailing west. He performed many menial tasks and looked at dangers as if they were safe. He wielded the oar of the ship of compassion, crossing over and cutting through the sea of suffering. Having reached the other shore [i.e., China], he told the state envoy, "As each individual has their own determination, I request to be dismissed from this [duty]." Subsequently he went to Cangzhou and visited the great [Chan] master Shenjian.[42] When he was half done with his prostrations the Great Master [Shenjian], pleased, said, "Our separation was not long. I rejoice to encounter you again." Right away he ordered him [Chin'gam] to take the tonsure and don the dyed [monastic] robe. He [Chin'gam] bowed and received the seal of conformity. It was like fire burning dried mugwort, or water pouring downwards. The disciples [of Shenjian] said to each other, "Here we see again a saint of the East."

禪師形貌黯然, 衆不名, 而目爲黑頭陁. 斯則探玄處默, 眞爲漆道人後身, 豈比夫邑中之黔, 能慰衆心而已哉. 永可與赤頿青眼, 以色相顯示矣.

The countenance of the Sŏn Master was dark. The assembly did not call him but in their eyes he was the "Black Dhūta." Then he sought the arcane and dwelt in silence. He was really a later incarnation of the "Laquered Monk" [i.e.,

bitter gourd! How can I be hung up out of the way of being eaten?' "子曰 吾豈匏瓜哉 焉能繫而不食 滯一逅而不自在也. In the present context, it expresses the intention of not remaining confined in one's own country of birth, but instead going on a journey to China to experience the wide world.

42 Shenjian 神鑑 was a Chan master in the Tang dynasty who succeeded to the lineage of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一.

Daoan].[43] How could he [not] be compared to the black [man] within the city [i.e., Song Zihan] who could merely comfort the mind of the masses?[44] Forever, along with the red-bearded [Buddhayaśas][45] and the blue-eyed [Bodhidharma][46], he should be indicated by the characteristics of his body.

元和五年, 受具於嵩山少林寺瑠璃壇, 則聖善前夢. 宛若合符, 旣瑩戒珠, 復歸橫海, 聞一知十, 茜絳藍靑.

In the fifth year of the Yuanhe era [810], he received the complete [set of] precepts[47] at the vaiḍūrya platform of Shaolin-si on Song-shan.[48] This

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43 Hei Toutuo 黑頭陀 (lit. "black dhūta", "black monk" or "black practitioner of austerities") refers to the famous monk Daoan 道安 of the Eastern Jin 東晉. Daoan became a monk at the age of twelve. As he was dark-skinned and of ugly complexion, people nicknamed him "black dhūta" or "pitch-black monk" (qi daoren 漆道人). He studied under Fotudeng 佛圖澄 and also learned from Faji 法濟 and Zhitan 支曇. Daoan is famous for having compared Chinese translations of Buddhist sūtras and pointing out erroneous passages, and for having compiled a comprehensive catalogue of sūtras, in which he included the name of the translator(s), date of translation, different versions, and translations of spurious provenance. He also established the threefold interpretative categories subdividing sūtras into introduction (*xu fen* 序分), main discourse (*zhengzong fen* 正宗分), and final application or circulation (*liutong fen* 流通分). He also coined normative rules for monks and nuns, and advocated that monks adopt the prefix Shi 釋 in front of their Dharma-names to indicate their affiliation with the Śākya clan. Daoan thereby contributed to the development of Chinese Buddhism by Chinese Buddhist scholars. The term *toin* 道人 (Ch. *daoren*), literally "person of the path" refers to a "practitioner of the path" and is here rendered as "monk."

44 This passage is partial quotation from the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* Xianggong Chapter 襄公 entry for the seventeenth year, according to which, in the Chunqiu period (777–476 B.C.E.) Song Zihan 宋子罕 wanted to delay the construction of the cottage of the Duke of Ping 平公, but the king did not grant permission. Thereupon the workers said, "The white person from the marshland (zemen 澤門) surely has abandoned us. The city-dwelling person is consoling our mind."

45 Lit. "the red-bearded one", being a reference to Buddhayaśas (Ch. Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍), a monk and translator active in the Eastern Jin, originally from Kashmir and known for his red beard.

46 Bodhidharma (*Damo* 達磨), allegedly the last of the Indian Dhyana patriarchs and first Chan patriarch in China, known late in the tradition for his blue eyes (*biyan* 碧眼).

47 The full ordination as a monk consists in receiving a set of 250 precepts.

48 The vaiḍūrya platform (*liuli tan* 琉璃壇) refers to the platform where monks receive their precepts.

seems to conform to the previous dream of his mother.[49] Once he had taken the precepts,[50] he returned to school [lit., the ocean of learning]. When he heard one [thing], he knew ten, his ability surpassing that of his teachers.[51]

雖止水澄心, 而斷雲浪跡. 粵有鄉僧道義, 先訪道於華夏, 邂逅適願, 西南得朋. 四遠參尋, 證佛知見. 義公前歸故國, 禪師卽入終南, 登萬仞之峯, 餌松實而止觀, 寂寂者三年. 後出紫閣, 當四達之道, 織芒屩而廣施, 憧憧者又三年. 於是, 苦行旣已修, 他方亦已遊, 雖曰觀空, 豈能忘本.

Although his mind was as clear as calm water, he wandered like a scattered cloud [leaving no] traces. Now there was a [fellow] country [i.e., Silla] monk, Toŭi,[52] who previously had inquired about the path in China. This unexpected encounter conformed to his wish. In the south and west one gains friends.[53]

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49 Shengshan 聖善 (lit., "sage and good") is an honorific term designating one's mother. See the explanation in the *Shijing* 詩經, " 'Beishi' 邶食 stands for 'South Wind' (*kaifeng* 凱風), 'Shengshan' 聖善 stands for 'mother' (*mushi* 母氏)."

50 Lit., "having been adorned with the lustrous pearl of the precepts." The precepts, being pure and without flaw, are compared to a lustrous pearl which adorns the practitioner. See the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 (T. 1484.24.1004a), "The pearl of the precepts are in in the grasp (control), the bright mirror enters thoughts" "戒珠在握, 明鏡入懷."

51 Lit., "redder than madder and bluer than indigo" (*xijiang lanqing* 茜絳藍青).

52 The monk Toŭi 道義 is considered to have been the first monk to introduce the Chan teachings from China into Silla. In 784, the fifth year of Queen Sŏndŏk's 宣德 reign, he traveled to Tang China where he obtained the transmission of the mind-seal (*xinyin* 心印) from the Chan master Xitang Zhizang 西堂智藏. In 821, the thirteenth year of King Hŏndŏk's 憲德 reign, he returned to Silla, but his achievements went unacknowledged and he was also criticized for preaching "Māra's words" (魔語) or "words of the deceiving demons." Thus he went to live in seclusion at Chinjŏn-sa 陳田寺 on Sŏrak-san. Nevertheless, his lineage (i.e., mind-seal) was transmitted via Yŏmgŏ 廉居 to the Sŏn Master Pojo Ch'ejing 普照體澄 and he thus became venerated as the founding patriarch (kaejo 開祖) of the Kajisan 迦智山 school of Sŏn. The *Zutangji* 祖堂集 contains quotes from what appears to be his stūpa inscription, namely, the *Sŏrak-san Chinjŏn-sa Wŏnjŏk Sŏnsa Pimun* 雪岳山陳田寺元寂禪師碑文.

53 The expression "to gain friends in the south and the west" occurs in the *Book of Changes* 周易, fascicle 2, Kun 坤: "Gaining friends in the south and the west, and traveling together with them." 西南得朋 乃與類行.

Seeking in the distant four directions, he [then] realized the knowledge and insight of the Buddha.[54] Venerable Toŭi earlier on returned to his home country (821), while the Sŏn Master [Chin'gam] entered Zhongnan[-shan] and climbed a peak of ten thousand fathoms. He ate pine fruits and cultivated calm and insight (śamatha-vipaśyanā) in silence and solitude for three years. Afterwards he left the Purple Pavilion [i.e., Zhongnan-shan].[55] When he was on the crossroads, he wove hemp straw sandals which he gave away widely. He was irresolute and indecisive for another three years. By then he already had cultivated the practice of austerities and had traveled to other regions. Although he can be said to have contemplated emptiness, how could he have forgotten his [country of] origin?

乃於大和四年來歸, 大覺上乘, 照我仁域. 興德大王, 飛鳳筆迎勞曰, "道義禪師, 曩已歸止, 上人繼至, 爲二菩薩. 昔聞黑衣之傑, 今見縷褐之英, 彌天慈威, 擧國欣賴. 寡人行當以東雞林之境, 成吉祥之宅也."

Thereupon, in the fourth year of the Dahe era [830],[56] he came back [to Silla] and [as a result] the Supreme Vehicle of the Great Awakening [of Śākyamuni][57] illuminated our country of humaneness. The Great King Hŭngdŏk rapidly wrote to welcome and reward him [for his accomplishments], saying, "Sŏn Master Toŭi, who already returned to stay, and you [venerable monk], who subsequently arrived, are two bodhisattvas. I have heard that

54 Chi-kyŏn 知見 (S. *jñāna-darśana*), lit. insight and wisdom or knowledge and understanding, refers to the Buddha's wisdom acquired through awakening to the real nature of all dharmas (*zhufa shixiang* 諸法實相).

55 Purple Pavilion (Zige 紫閣): name of a peak in the Zhongnan Mountains in the region of modern-day Xi'an.

56 Since Chin'gam journeyed to China in 804, he returned to Silla after having spent twenty-six years in China.

57 "The Great Awakened One" (Dajue 大覺), a.k.a. "the Great Awakened and World-Honored One" (Dajue Shizun 大覺世尊) is a reference to the historical Buddha Śākyamuni.

in the past there were [two] black-clothed outstanding monks.[58] Now I see patch-clothed heroes. To fill the heavens with compassionate power[59] and have the whole country happily reliant, I the King, shall establish an auspicious residence [for you] in the region of East Kyerim [i.e., Kyŏngju]."

始憩錫於尙州露岳長栢寺. 毉門多病, 來者如雲, 方丈雖寬, 物情自隘, 遂步至康州知異山. 有數於菟, 哮吼前導, 避危從坦, 不殊兪騎. 從者無所怖畏, 豢犬如也. 則與善无畏三藏, 結夏靈山, 猛獸前路, 深入山穴, 見牟尼立像, 宛同事跡. 彼竺曇猷之扣睡虎頭, 令聽經, 亦未專媺於僧史也. 因於花開谷, 故三法和尙蘭若遺基, 纂修堂宇, 儼若化成.

At first, [Chin'gam] took residence [lit., put his wandering staff to rest] in Changbaek-sa[60] on Noak-san in Sangju. [Just like] at the doctor's gate there were many sick, and those who came were [numerous] like clouds. Although his abbot's quarters were spacious, the feelings of people themselves [made it] narrow. Consequently he [Chin'gam] walked to Chiri-san in Kangju.[61] There were several tigers roaring and guiding him in front, avoiding dangerous spots and following the level ground, no different from bypassing horse-riders. His attendants were without fear, as if [the tigers] were domesticated

58 The "two outstanding monks wearing black robes" (*heiyi erjie* 黑衣二傑) is a reference to the Qi 齊 emperor Wu 武帝 who appointed the two monks Xuanchang 玄暢 and Faxian 法獻 as heads of the samgha (sengzhu 僧主). They were put in charge of the Jiangnan and Jiangbei regions respectively. See *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 vol. 36, (T 2035.49.346c).

59 The *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 reports that when Daoan was residing in Yangyang, the talented literatus Xi Zaochi 習鑿齒 came to see him and said, "I am Xi Zaochi from the Four Seas (四海)", to which Daoan replied, "I am Shi Daoan from everywhere in the heavens", thereby winning the exchange of repartee. See *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 vol. 5, "Biography of Shi Daoan" 釋道安傳 (T. 2059.50.352c).

60 Changbaek-sa corresponds to present-day Namjang-sa 南長寺 which is located on Noak-san in the west of Sangju.

61 Kangju 康州 is mentioned in the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, vol. 34, Chapji (Miscellaneous Treatises) 雜志 3, Chiri (Geography) 地理, "In the fifth year of King Sinmun 神文's reign (685), present-day Chinju 晉州 was separated from Kŏt'aju and became Ch'ŏngju 菁州. Then it was renamed Kangju in the sixth year of King Kyŏngdŏk 景德 (747)."

dogs. This is identical to the accounts of Tripiṭaka Master Shanwuwei,[62] who when undertaking the summer retreat[63] on the Numinous Mountain[64], was led by wild animals along the way and entered deep into a mountain cave, where he saw a standing statue of Śākyamuni, or to that of Zhu Tanyou[65] who tapped the head of a sleeping tiger to make it listen to sūtras. Also, these are not the only eulogies in the monastic histories. Consequently, he built halls and buildings,[66] which were majestic like the [city of magical] transformation in Hwagaegok [lit., "Gorge of the Flower Blossom"],[67] on the remaining foundations of the hermitage of the late Master[68] Sambŏp.

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62 Tripiṭaka Master Shanwuwei 善無畏 (Śubhakarasiṃha, 637–735) was a master of esoteric Buddhism from India who was influential at the Tang court. According to his biography, he inherited the throne of Magadha at the age of thirteen, but declined in favor of his elder brother, instead becoming a monk. He studied esoteric Buddhism at Nalanda and, in 716, went to China, where, with the support of the Tang emperor Xuanzong, he translated esoteric Buddhist texts into Chinese and together with the Tripiṭaka Master Vajrabodhi (Jingangzhi 金剛智) spread esoteric Buddhism at the imperial court and beyond. He translated the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (in 725), to which the Chinese monk Yixing 一行 wrote a commentary, the *Darijingshu* 大日經疏. Shanwuwei was posthumously granted the title of Minister of the Court of Reception 鴻臚卿.

63 The summer retreat traditionally lasts for a period of three lunar months, from the sixteenth day of the fourth month until the fifteenth day of the seventh month.

64 I.e., Vulture Peak.

65 Zhu Tanyou 竺曇猷, a.k.a. Faxian 法憲, was a monk originating from Sogdia (Kangjuguo 康居國) active in the Jin 晉 dynasty.

66 The word rendered here as hermitage is *nanya* 蘭若, from Sanskrit *āraṇya*, and should be understood as a quiet place suitable for meditative practice, especially the cultivation of Sŏn.

67 Sambŏp Hwasang 三法和尚 [lit. Venerable versed in the three Dharmas]: according to the *Chiri-san Ssanggye-sa ki* 智異山雙溪寺記, he was a Silla monk who, together with Kim Tae-bi 金大悲 stole the mummified head of the sixth patriarch 六祖頂上 Huineng and enshrined it in a stūpa built especially for it, the *Yukjo chongsang t'ap* 六祖頂上塔, on Chiri-san at Hwagaegok 花開谷 (near the location of Ssangye-sa 雙溪寺). This is a recent tradition created to improve the fortunes of Ssanggye-sa. See John Jorgensen, "Ssanggye-sa and Local Buddhist History: Propaganda and Relics in a Struggle for Survival, 1850s–1930s," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21 no. 1 (June 2008), pp. 87–127.

68 The term rendered as "master" is *hwasang* 和尚 (also 和上) is a general term for a senior monk,

洎開成三年, 愍哀大王, 驟登寶位, 深託玄慈. 降璽書餽齋費, 而別求見願. 禪師曰, "在勤修善政, 何用願爲." 使復于王, 聞之愧悟, 以禪師色空雙泯, 定惠俱圓, 降使賜號爲慧昭, 昭字避聖祖廟諱易之也. 仍貫籍于大皇龍寺, 徵詣京邑. 星使往復者, 交轡于路, 而岳立不移其志. 昔僧稠拒元魏之三召云, "在山行道, 不爽大通." 棲幽養高, 異代同趣.

In the third year of the Kaicheng era [838], the Great King Min'ae[69] abruptly ascended to the treasured throne. He deeply relied on Buddhism [lit., "profound compassion"] and sent down a royally sealed letter providing the expenses for a [vegetarian] offering and he especially requested a personal audience [with Chin'gam]. The Sŏn Master [Chin'gam] said, "[The king should exclusively focus] on diligently cultivating a good rulership; what use is [his] wish [to meet me]?" The envoy returned to the king, who felt ashamed upon hearing this, and he considered the Sŏn Master as having eliminated both [the realm of] form and emptiness, and of having perfected both concentration and wisdom [i.e., samādhi and prajñā]. He sent the envoy to bestow the title "Hyeso" on him. The character "so" was avoided as it corresponded to the royal ancestor's shrine tabbo name [of King Sŏngjo], thus it was changed.[70] Moreover, his monk register was transferred to the Great Hwangnyong-sa[71] and he was summoned to visit the capital [i.e.,

a Chinese translation of the Sanskrit term upādhāya. The Sanskrit upādhyāya originally refers to a teacher or senior monk who has the authority to administer the precepts.

69 King Min'ae 閔哀 (also written 敏哀, r. 838–839) was the forty-fourth king of the Silla dynasty. His taboo name 諱 was Myŏng. Together with the attendant minister 侍中 Yi Hong 利弘, he forced King Hŭikang 僖康 to commit suicide and thereby succeeded to the throne. However, Min'ae himself was assassinated in Kimyang 金陽 by members of Kim U-jing's 金祐徵 faction.

70 I.e., King Sosŏng 昭聖大王.

71 Hwangnyong-sa 皇龍寺 was located in present day Kyŏngju, Kuhwang-dong, where its foundations are still visible. The construction of the monastery began in the fourteenth year of king Chinhŭng (553) and lasted for seventeen years. It was completed in 569. The monastery was renowned as a state protection monastery 護國寺刹 and housed two of Silla's "three national treasures" 三寶, namely, a sixteen-feet high Buddha statue (丈六像) and a nine-storey stūpa. The recently discovered "*Hwangnyong-sa kuch'ŭng mokt'ap ch'alchu pongi*" 皇龍寺九層木塔刹柱本記,

Kyŏngju]. The coming and going of royal envoys [was frequent to the extent that] they crossed reins on the road. But he [Chin'gam] stood firm like a mountain and they could not move his determination. In the past, Sengchou[72] refused three summons from the Yuan Wei [the Northern Wei court],[73] saying "When practising the path in the mountains, one does not deviate from [achieving] the great comprehension [i.e., pervasive understanding]." Dwelling in seclusion and nurturing eminence: although the ages are different, the meaning is the same.

居數年, 請益者, 稻麻成列, 殆無錐地. 遂歷銓奇境, 得南嶺之麓, 爽塏居寂. 經始禪廬, 却倚霞岑, 俯壓雲澗. 清眼界者, 隔江遠岳, 爽耳根者, 迸石飛湍. 至如春谿花, 夏徑松, 秋壑月, 冬嶠雪, 四時變態, 萬象交光, 百籟和唫, 千巖競秀. 嘗遊西土者, 至止咸愕, 視謂, "遠公東林, 移歸海表, 蓮花世界, 非凡想可擬, 壺中別有天地則信也." 架竹引流, 環階四注, 始用玉泉爲牓.

When he lived there for several years, those requesting instruction [lit., "requesting benefits"] formed a line like rice or hemp stalks, to the extent that there was not the slightest gap to insert an awl. Consequently, he wandered to select an extraordinary landscape, which he obtained on the foothills of the southern mountain ridges, a refreshing, high and dry place, most appropriate to dwell in. Thus he measured out [the ground] and began [to build] a meditation [lit. Sŏn] hut. It relied on [the slope of] misty peaks

an account from the late Silla dynasty recording the monastery's restoration, provides information on Hwangnyong-sa's foundation. See Yi Ki-baek 李基白, "Hwangnyong-sa wa kŭ ch'anggŏn 皇龍寺와 그 創建", in *Silla ŭi kukka pulgyo wa yugyo* 新羅時代의 國家佛敎와 儒敎 (1978).

72 Sengchou 僧稠 (480–560) was an eminent monk in the Northern Qi 北齊 dynasty. He acquired a thorough knowledge of the Chinese classics and history (*jingshi* 經史) and became a scholar of the institute of learning 太學博士. Later, he became a monk and practiced samādhi. He was venerated by Emperor Xiaoming 孝明 of the Wei 魏 dynasty. During the Tianbao 天保 era (550–559), Emperor Wenxuan 文宣 had him to reside in Yunmen-sa 雲門寺. See his biography in *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 vol. 16 (T. 2060.50.553–555).

73 I.e. Emperor Xiaoming.

and looked down on cloudy gullies. To those with a clear field of vision, there were distant mountain peaks across the rivers, to those with a clear sense of hearing, there were gushing stones and flying rapids. When the spring came, the brooks blossomed. In the summer, the narrow pathways [had] pine trees. In autumn, the narrow ravines [were illuminated by] the moon. In winter, the mountain ridges were covered in snow. The four seasons changed the appearance [of the site] and the myriad phenomena intermingled in their splendor. The hundred pipes [i.e., the sound of the wind] hummed in harmony. The thousand cliffs competed for prominence. When those who had traveled to the Western Land [i.e., China] arrived here, they all looked [at this place] with astonishment, saying that Venerable Huiyuan's Donglin-si [on Lu-shan] had shifted back beyond the sea [to Silla]. The world of the lotus flower[74] cannot be fathomed by ordinary thoughts. Only if one is in a jar will one believe in the existence of another world contained within it." Water was drawn [to the site] by bamboo props. It was surrounded by steps and [water] flowed in from the four sides. At first he used Okchŏn [lit., "Jade Spring"] on the [temple-name] signboard.

屈指法胤則, 禪師乃曹溪之玄孫. 是用建六祖影堂, 彩飾紛墉, 廣資導誘, 經所謂, "爲悅衆生故, 綺錯繪衆像者也."

Counting on one's fingers his Dharma heirs, the Sŏn Master was the great-great-grandson of Caoxi [i.e., Huineng].[75] Thus he built a portrait hall of the Sixth Patriarch [i.e., Huineng] and decorated its wall with variegated colors, to extensively contribute to guiding [sentient beings]. This is what the sūtra calls 'to please sentient beings.' Therefore it was elegantly decorated

74 A.k.a. the World [hidden in] the Lotus Flower, Lotus-Repository World, or Flower Treasury World refers to the Pure Land of the Buddha Vairocana. For a description thereof, see the *Huayan jing*.

75 Caoxi 曹溪 is another name for the sixth patriarch Huineng 慧能. Huineng used to preach the Dharma in the Baolin-si 寶林寺 which was located at Caoxi, south-east of Shaozhou 韶州, district of Qujiang 曲江縣, Guangdong Province.

with paintings of many images."[76]

大中四年正月九日詰旦, 告門人曰,"萬法皆空, 吾將行矣, 一心爲本, 汝等勉之, 無以塔藏形, 無以銘紀跡." 言竟坐滅, 報年七十七, 積夏四十一. 于時, 天無纖雲, 風雷欻起, 虎狼號咽, 杉栝變衰. 俄而紫雲翳空, 空中有彈指聲, 會葬者無不入耳. 則梁史載,"褚侍中翔, 嘗請沙門, 爲母疾祈福, 聞空中彈指." 聖感冥應, 豈誣也哉. 凡志於道者, 寄聲相弔, 未亡情者, 銜悲以泣, 天人痛悼, 斷可知矣. 靈函幽隧, 預使備具, 弟子法諒等, 號奉色身, 不踰日而窆于東峰之冢, 遵遺命也.

On the dawn of the ninth day of the first month in the fourth year of the Dazhong era [850], he announced to his disciples, "The myriad dharmas are all empty. I am about to go. The One Mind is the basis. All of you should exert yourself for it. Do not preserve my body in a stūpa, do not record my traces [i.e., my life] with an inscription." When he finished speaking, he sat [in meditative posture] and [entered] extinction [i.e., nirvāṇa]. His years of recompense were seventy-seven years and his accumulation of summers [as a monk] was forty-one.[77] At that time, the heavens lacked the slightest clouds, [but] wind and thunder suddenly arose, tigers and wolves roared and howled, cedars and juniper trees withered. And then suddenly purple clouds covered the sky. In the sky there was the sound of snapping fingers. Everyone gathered at the funeral heard it. The *History of the Liang Dynasty*[78] records that Palace Attendant Chu Xiang[79] once had requested a śramaṇa to pray

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76 The sūtra quoted here is the *Foxiang zaocheng jing* 佛像造成經.

77 The term used to designate the number of years he had lived as a monk is *chŏkha* (Ch. *jixia* 積夏), literally meaning "accumulated summers", a term derived from the fact that monks undertook the summer retreat every year.

78 The History of the Liang Dynasty (Liang Shi 梁史) refers to the Book of Liang (*Liangshu* 梁書) completed in 635 by Yao Silian (姚思廉), an official of Sui and Tang Dynasty. The book is the official history of the Liang dynasty and as such part of the Twenty-Four Histories canon of Chinese history.

79 Chu Xiang 褚翔 of the Liang dynasty: his courtesy name 字 was Shiju 世擧. He held the posts of Governor of Yiyu 義興太守, Vice-Minister of the Board of Personnel 吏部郎, attendant minister 侍中, and President of the Board of Personnel 吏部尚書. He was reputed for his impartiality, integrity,

for the happiness of his sick mother. They heard the snap of fingers in the sky and the saintly was moved and the deep responded. How can this be a false report? All those whose determination was to follow the path sent their condolences. Those who had not lost their emotions harbored their grief and wept. It was definitely obvious that both gods and humans were in pain and mourning. The numinous urn [containing his cremated remains] and the secluded path [i.e., the pathway leading to his stūpa] were completely prepared beforehand. His disciples Pŏmnyang and others wailed as they carried his material body and, before the day went by, buried him in a mound on the eastern peak, in compliance with [Chin'gam's] last will.

禪師性不散樸, 言不由機, 服煖縕黂, 食甘糠麧. 茅菽雜糅, 蔬佐無二. 貴達時至, 曾不異饌. 門人以墋腹進難, 則曰, "有心至此, 雖糲何害." 尊卑耋穉, 接之如一.

The Sŏn Master's nature did not lose its simplicity and his words were not due to machination. He wore warm but coarse [clothes made of] hemp. He satisfied himself eating coarse wheat, mixed chestnut oaks and beans, and [always] only a single sort of vegetable side dish. Even when the nobles and the accomplished arrived [to visit him], no special food was provided. The disciples were reluctant to present it [to visitors] because it was coarse to digest. So he said, "Since they have the [determined] mind to come here, what harm is there in serving them coarse food?" Venerable and humble, aged and young, were received in the same manner.

每有王人, 乘馹傳命, 遙祈法力, 則曰, "凡居王土而戴佛日者, 孰不傾心護念, 爲君貯福. 亦何必遠汚綸言於枯木朽株. 傳乘之, 飢不得齕, 渴不得飲, 吁可念也." 或有以胡香爲贈者, 則以瓦載煻灰, 不爲丸而焫之曰, "吾不識是何臭, 虔心而已." 復有以漢茗爲供者, 則以薪爨石釜, 不爲屑而煮之曰, "吾不識是何味, 濡腹而已." 守眞忤俗, 皆此類也.

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and benevolent administration. He passed away after the death of his mother had caused him great grief and fatigue. For his biography, consult the *Liangshu* 梁書 vol. 41.

Whenever the royal emissaries mounted on relay horses transmitted [the king's] order, coming from afar to beseech the power of the Dharma, he [Chin'gam] said, "Who among all those dwelling on the royal domain and supporting the Buddha-sun, do not pour out their minds to maintain mindfulness[80] to store merit for the ruler? Furthermore, what necessity is there to pollute the silken words [of the king] from afar amidst withered trees and rotten stumps?[81] Alas, we should be mindful that the transmitting riders are starving but cannot chew, are thirsty but cannot drink." Some brought foreign incense as presents. So he carried warm ashes on an earthenware tile, and did not make [the incense into] pills to burn it, saying, "I do not know what smell this is, but it merely preserves a sincere mind." Some also offered Chinese tea. So he used firewood to cook it in a stone cauldron, boiling it without care, saying, "I do not know what taste this is, but it merely moistens the stomach." His preservation of the true and disregard of the secular were all like these kind [of examples].

雅善梵唄, 金玉其音. 側調飛聲, 爽快哀婉, 能使諸天歡喜, 永於遠地流傳, 學者滿堂, 誨之不倦. 至今東國, 習魚山之妙者, 競如掩鼻, 效玉泉餘響, 豈非以聲聞度之之化乎.

He was always skilled at Buddhist chanting,[82] his voice sounding [exquisite] like gold and jade. His side tunes and soaring sounds were refreshing, fast, sad and graceful, and could cause the gods to rejoice. [His skills] were forever propagated to distant places. Students filled the hall and he instructed

80 To protect and care for (*hunian* 護念) refers to the buddhas and bodhisattvas taking care of sentient beings.

81 The term translated as "king's words" (*lunyan* 綸言), literally "silk thread word", occurs in the *Liji* 禮記 entry on black clothes (*ziyi* 緇衣), "The king's word is like silk. When it comes out [from the king's mouth] it is like a thread of silk. "王言如絲 其出如綸."

82 The generic term for Buddhist chanting and music is *fanbai* (Kr. *pŏmp'ae* 梵唄). *Pŏmp'ae* is widely used in Buddhist rituals and religious services. Sŏn Master Chin'gam is widely considered as having introduced *fanbai* to Korea.

them tirelessly. Up to the present, in the Eastern Country [i.e., Silla], the practitioners of the sublimity of Yu-shan[83] compete to be like [him] by covering their noses and emulating the lingering echoes of Okchŏn [i.e., Hyeso].[84] How can this not be the transformation that saved [even] the śrāvakas [lit. the sound listeners]?

禪師泥洹, 當文聖大王之朝, 上惻僊襟, 將寵淨謚, 及聞遺戒, 愧而寢之. 越三紀, 門人以陵谷爲慮, 扣不朽之緣於慕法弟子, 內供奉一吉干楊晉方, 崇文臺鄭詢一, 斷金爲心, 勒石是請. 獻康大王恢弘至化, 欽仰眞宗, 追謚眞鑒禪師大空靈塔, 仍許篆刻, 以永終譽.

The Sŏn Master's nirvāṇa was during the reign of Great King Munsŏng (r. 839–857). The king grieved sincerely and favored him with the bestowing of a pure posthumous title and he listened to his last admonitions. He was ashamed and refrained from doing [wrong]. Thirty-six years later [in 886], his disciples, worried about the hills and valleys [i.e., changes is worldly affairs],[85] brought up the [issue of the] karmic connection of non-decay to the disciples longing for the Dharma. The Court Auxiliary[86] and Ilgilgan[87] Yang Chinbang and the Directorate for the Veneration of Literature's[88]

83 Yu-shan or Mt. Yu (Kr. Ŏsan 魚山): In Wei 魏 China, Cao Zijian 曹子建 (a.k.a. Cao Zizhi 曹子植) journeyed to Yushan where, in the mountain valleys, he was deeply impressed by hearing the pure sound of sūtras being recited. Thus the melody of fanbai is referred to as Yushan.

84 In the Eastern Jin 東晉, Xie An 謝安 was so fond of singing the "Luoxia shusheng yong" 洛下書生詠 that he caught a nasal congestion which obliged him to sing with a nasal voice. His contemporaries emulated his singing style by pinching their noses. See *Jinshu* 晉書 vol. 79, "Biographies" liezhuan 列傳 49, "Biography of Xie An" 謝安傳.

85 The change of hills and valleys (*nŭnggok* 陵谷) are a reference to great changes occurring with the passage of time.

86 Hucker 4210.

87 Ilgilgan 一吉干 (a.k.a. *ilgilch'an* 一吉飡) is the seventh rank in the Silla bureaucracy. Silla had a total of seventeen official ranks.

88 Hucker 1669, 6135. Sungmundae 崇文臺: Directorate for the Veneration of Literature: in the

Chŏng Sun-il, [united in] having [the determination of] a metal-cutting mind, requested that [the Sŏn Master's biography] be engraved in stone.[89] The Great King Hŏn'gang (r. 875–886) propagated extensively the supreme transformation and venerated the true teaching [of Buddhism]. So he posthumously titled him Sŏn Master Chin'gam, and his numinous stūpa Taegong [lit., great emptiness]. Then he permitted these to be engraved in seal script so as to perpetuate his everlasting reputation.

懿乎, 日出暘谷, 無幽不燭, 海岸植香, 久而彌芳. 或曰, "禪師, 垂不銘不塔之戒, 而降及西河之徒, 不能確奉先志, 求之歟, 抑與之歟, 適足爲白珪之玷." 嘻, 非之者, 亦非也. 不近名而名彰, 蓋定力之餘報. 與其灰滅電絶, 曷若爲可爲, 於可爲之時, 使聲震大千之界. 而龜未戴石, 龍遽昇天, 今上繼興, 塤箎相應, 義諧付囑, 善者從之. 以隣岳招提, 有玉泉之號, 爲名所累, 衆耳致惑. 將俾弃同卽異, 則宜捨舊從新, 使眎其寺之所枕倚, 則以門臨複澗爲對, 乃錫題爲雙溪焉.

Admirable indeed was [he, the master, like] the sun rising from the Valley of Sunshine [i.e., Silla].[90] There was no darkness which he did not illuminate. On the seashore he planted [a] sandalwood [tree] which for a long time exuded its fragrance. Someone said, "The Sŏn Master bequeathed an admonition against making an inscription or a stūpa. And yet when it came down to his disciples [lit. the followers of the West River], they were unable to firmly respect [his will]. Were they first determined to seek it

Late Silla. Staffed with two Court Gentlemen (郞), four Secondary Officers 吏, and two Assistant Secretaries 從舍知. The two Court Gentlemen consisted of one Academician 學士 and one Auxiliary Academician 直學士. Based on the precedents of the Tang system, this institute was directly affiliated to the Eastern Palace 東宮 (ie., the residence of the Heir Apparent) (See Yi Ki-baek 李基東, "Namal yŏch'o kŭnsi kigu wa munhan kigu ŭi hwakjang" 羅末麗初 近侍機構와 文翰機構의 擴張, in *Silla kolp'um che sahoe wa hwarangdo* 新羅 骨品制社會와 花郎徒, 1980.

89 See *Zhouyi* 周易J Jici Chapter Part One 擊辭 上, "Two men united in mind, their sharpness cuts through metal" 二人同心 其利斷金.

90 The term translated as "Valley of Sunshine" (*yang gu* 暘谷) occurs in the *Shujing* 書經, Yaodian "Statutes of Yao" 堯典, "[Yao ordered] he take residence at Yuyi, which is called Yanggu" 宅嵎夷 曰暘谷.

[i.e., the inscription and the stūpa], or was it [i.e., the order] given to them [by the king]? This indeed is enough to be a flaw in a white jade."[91] Alas, those who deny this are also wrong. He did not pursue fame, yet his fame is manifest due to the lingering recompense for his power of samādhi. Rather than being like extinguished ashes or interrupted lightning, is it not better to do what can be done when time permits it, and to make [his reputation] shake the major chiliocosm? Yet, before the turtle plinth supported the stone [of the inscription], the dragon [king] abruptly ascended to Heaven [i.e., passed away]. The Current King [Chŏnggang] subsequently rose to the throne. Just as the ocarina and bamboo flutes[92] were in mutual accord, the intention was harmoniously inherited [by the current king]. As it was [considered] a good thing, it [the order] was followed. As there was a monastery[93] on an adjacent mountain peak with the title Okch'ŏn, people were confused by the [overlapping] names. This caused [the assembly of monks at Okch'ŏn-sa] to abandon this identity [of name] and adopt a different [name]. So it was appropriate that they abandoned the old [name] and followed the new. [This] made them inspect the location upon which the monastery rested, and since its gate faced a pair of mountain streams, [the king] granted it the title of "Ssanggye" (Twin Creeks).

申命下臣曰, "師以行顯, 汝以文進, 宜爲銘." 致遠拜手曰, "唯唯." 退而思之, 頃

91 The expression "a flaw in a piece of white jade" occurs in the *Shijing* 詩經 "Great Odes" Daya 大雅 Yipian 抑篇, "白珪之玷 尚可磨也 斯言之玷 不可爲也."

92 The ocarina (*xun* 塤) and the bamboo flute (*chi* 篪) are two wind instruments often played harmoniously together. As such they are used metaphorically to describe brotherly harmony. See the *Shijing* 詩經 Xiaoya (Minor Odes) 小雅, entry Herensi 何人斯, "The elder brother plays the *xun*, the younger brother plays the *chi* 伯氏吹塤仲氏吹篪."

93 The word for monastery, *zhaoti* 招提, is the abbreviated form for *zhaotoutishe* 招鬭提舍, which is a transcription for the Sanskrit *catur-diśa,* literally meaning "four directions" (四方) and by implication, the place where monks from the four directions gather together to cultivate the path. The Wei Emperor Taiwu 太武 built a monastery that was give the name Zhaoti-si 招提寺. Henceforth zhaoti was used as a synonym for a Buddhist monastery.

捕名中州, 嚼腴咀僞于章句間, 未能盡醉衢罇, 唯愧深跧泥甃, 况法離文字, 無地措言, 苟或言之, 北轅適郢. 第以國主之外護, 門人之大願, 非文字, 不能昭昭乎群目, 遂敢身從兩役, 力效五能, 雖石或憑焉, 可慙可懼. 而道强名也, 何是何非, 掘笔藏鋒, 則臣豈敢重宣前義, 謹札銘云.

[The king] further ordered his subject [me, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn], saying, "The Sŏn Master used his conduct to show [the Way]. You use literature to promote [it]. [Thus] it is appropriate that you compose [his stele] inscription." [I, Ch'oe] Ch'i-wŏn bowed with folded hands, saying "Yes, yes." I retreated and thought about it. I recently gained fame in China, where I had chewed the opulent meat of literary compositions. Yet I was unable to become completely inebriated by the wine jars on the highways [i.e., to savor the taste of the sages' writings].[94] I was merely ashamed of crouching [like a frog] deeply in the mud and brick wall of a well. How much more [ashamed am I given that] the Dharma is detached from written words and there is no ground to employ words. If I have to speak about it, [it is like] the north[-bound] carriage going to Ying [in the south].[95] It only because of the external protection of the lord of the state and his [i.e., Chin'gam's] disciples' great vows [that I compiled this inscription]. If not for the written words, I could not make it clear and bright to the eyes of all people. Consequently I personally dared to follow the two services [of speaking for Confucianism and Buddhism], and devoted my efforts to the five [limited] abilities.[96]

94 Wine jars on the marketplace (*qu zun* 衢罇) refers to opened wine jars that every by-passer can drink from. This is used as a metaphor for the path of the sages as being accessible to anyone who is willing to study it, and, more specifically, to the writings of the sages. See the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, "繆稱訓聖人之導 猶中衢而致尊邪 過者斟酌 多少不同 各得其所宜 是故得一人 所以得百人也."

95 Ying 郢 was the capital of the Chu 楚 state.

96 The *Shewen* 設文 describes five limited abilities of a squirrel as follows, "A squirrel has five abilities and five disabilities. The first is being able to fly but not being able to jump over a building. The second is being able to climb trees, but not being able to pierce through wood. The third is being able to cross over, but not being able to cross over a ravine. The fourth is being able to dig a hole, but not being able to hide his body. The fifth is being able to run, but not to run faster than humans. (鼫鼠 一名夷由 有五能 五不能, 一能 飛不能過屋, 二能 緣不能穿木, 三能 逾不能渡谷, 四能 穴不能掩

Although it is stone, I perhaps can rely on it [for my inscription]. I should be ashamed and fearful. However, the path is forcibly named. What is right and what is wrong? The worn-out brush conceals sharp points, so how could I, Your subject, dare [to decline]? Reiterating the previous meaning, I respectfully compose the inscription: The inscription says,

杜口禪那,
歸心佛陀.
根熟菩薩,
弘之靡它.

He [practised] the silent dhyāna, his mind took refuge in the Buddha.
The mature-facultied Bodhisattva who propagated it was none other than he.

猛探虎窟,
遠泛鯨波.
去傳秘印,
來化斯羅.

He fiercely searched for the tiger's cave, floating afar over huge waves.
He left to inherit the secret seal[97], he came [back] to transform [convert] Silla.

尋幽選勝,
卜築巖磴.
水月澄懷,
雲泉寄興.

身, 五能 走不能先人). Ch'oe Ch'iwon refers to these limited abilities in the sense that, as a Confucian scholar he is able to compose an inscription for a Buddhist monk, but he is unable to fully express the profundity of Buddhism or the state of mind of Sŏn Master Chin'gam.

97 I.e., the Treasury of Eye of the True Law (*zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏).

He sought the secluded and selected the exquisite. He divined and built on cliffs and precipices.
The moon [reflected] in the water purified his mind, clouds and springs provided elation.

山與性寂,
谷與梵應.
觸境無硋,
息機是證.

The mountains and [his] nature were quiescent, the valley and his chanting echoed.
[His] sense-realms were unimpeded. The ceasing of his [mental] capacities [corresponded to his] realization.

道賛五朝,
威摧衆妖.
默垂慈蔭,
顯拒嘉招.

His path was praised by five [consecutive] courts,[98] his power destroyed multitudes of demons.
His silence bestowed the shelter of compassion, he displayed the refusal of the excellent [royal] summons.

海自飄蕩,
山何動搖.
無思無慮,
匪斵匪雕.

The ocean naturally undulates, but do mountains move?

98 This is a reference to the courts of kings Hŭngdŏk, Hŭigang, Min'ae, Sinmu, and Munsŏng.

He lacked [discriminative] thinking and anxiety, he was uncut and uncarved.

食不兼味,
服不必備.
風雨如晦,
始終一致.

His food was without combined flavors, his clothing was not proper attire. [Even when] wind and rain were [dark] like night, he remained consistent from the beginning to the end.

慧柯方秀,
法棟俄墜.
洞壑淒涼,
煙羅憔悴.

The branch of wisdom was about to flourish, [but] the ridge-pole of the Dharma suddenly collapsed.
The caves and ravines were cold and desolate, the misted vines were emaciated.

人亡道存,
終不可諼.
上士陳願,
大君流恩.

The person perished but the path survives. [But] he can never be forgotten. The superior gentlemen [i.e., his main disciples] expressed their wish, and the great ruler issued forth his kindness.

燈傳海衣,

塔聳雲根.
天衣佛石,
永耀松門.

The lamp [of the Dharma] was transmitted to the sea [Silla], and his stūpa soared above the clouds.
[Till] the cloth of a divine being wears out the stone [of his stūpa],[99] may it eternally glorify the Pine Gate [i.e., Buddhism].

光啓三年, 七月日, 建, 僧, 奐榮, 刻字.

Erected on a day of the seventh month in the third year of the Guangqi era [887].

The monk Hwan'yŏng carved the letters.

99 Literally, "until the stone is worn out and reduced to dust by the cloth of a divine being passed upon it once every hundred years" (天衣拂石). This is a Buddhist metaphor for an incalculable long period of time.

III

STELE INSCRIPTION OF NANGHYE MUYŎM (藍浦 聖住寺 朗慧和尚 白月葆光塔碑文)

3.
Stele Inscription of Nanghye Muyŏm
藍浦 聖住寺 朗慧和尙 白月葆光塔碑文

Text of the Paeg'wŏl Po'gwang Stūpa Inscription for the Master Nanghye, at Sŏngju-sa in Namp'o.

有唐新羅國, 故兩朝國師, 教謚大朗慧和尙, 白月葆光之塔碑銘, 幷序.

Stele Inscription and Preface of the Paegwŏl Pogwang Stūpa for the Great Master posthumously titled Nanghye, former State Preceptor of Two Courts, Silla State in the Tang period.

淮南入本國, 送國信詔書等使, 前東面都統巡官, 承務郎, 侍御史, 內供奉, 賜紫金魚袋, 臣, 崔致遠, 奉敎, 撰.

Composed upon royal order by the subject Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, entering his native country [of Silla] [coming from] Huainan, as [Tang] envoy dispatched with a sealed letter and an imperial edict [of the Tang emperor to the king of Silla],[1] former Inspector of the Eastern Campaign Command, gentleman for rendering service, auxiliary attendant censor, Recipient of the Purple-and-Gold Fish-Pouch.[2]

1 "[Tang] envoy sent [to deliver] the emperor's letter and edict [to the king of Silla]" 送國信詔書等使: Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn returned to Silla as an envoy of the Tang emperor Xizong 僖宗 to deliver his presents and imperial edict to the Silla king Hŏn'gang 憲康 (r. 875–886).

2 Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn 崔致遠 compiled at least four inscriptions upon royal order. However, on each

帝唐揃亂以武功, 易元以文德之年, 暢月月缺之七日, 日蘸咸池時, 海東兩朝國師禪和尙, 盥浴已, 趺坐示滅. 國中人, 如喪左右目, 矧門下諸弟子乎. 嗚呼. 應東身者, 八十九春, 服西戒者, 六十五夏. 去世三日, 倚繩座儼然, 面如生. 門人詢乂等, 號奉遺體, 假殡禪室中. 上聞之震悼, 使駛弔以書, 賻以穀, 所以資淨供而贍玄福.

At the hour when the sun completely merges in the pond[3] in the seventh day of the waning moon[4] of the eleventh month[5] of the year in which the emperor of the Tang had eliminated the revolt by military achievement and changed his reign title to Wende [888],[6] the Sŏn master and state preceptor

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of these inscriptions, the titles of his official positions are different. In this specific inscription, he figures as envoy of the Tang returning to Silla to deliver the emperor's letter and decree. His route of return was as follows: Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn left the Tang capital Chang'an in 884, but because of a stormy sea, he actually reached Silla in the third month of the following year (885). After his departure from Chang'an, he journeyed crossing south of the Huai River and the Yuan 沅 River, to Ningbo in Taizhou 台州 (eastern Zhejiang) where he boarded a ship in Dinghai 定海 County, bound for Kejia 可佳, Hongyi 紅衣, and Heishan 黑山. After a sojourn in Yŏng'am 靈巖 (in South Chŏlla Province), he reached the Silla capital of Kyŏngju.

3 This corresponds approximately to four o'clock in the afternoon. The third book of *Huainanzi*, "Patterns of Heaven" (Tianwen 天文訓) states that "The sun emerges from the sunrise-valley, [then] it bathes in the extensive pond." 日出于暘谷 浴于咸池. In the eleventh month of the lunar calendar, the sun "bathes" i.e., sets down approximately between 4 to 5 p.m.

4 This corresponds to the twenty-second day. The seventh day of the waning moon refers to the seven days of the waning moon or possibly to the seventh day after the moon starts to wane, that is, to the seventeenth day. See, *Tongsa yŏljŏn* 東師列傳 vol. 1. The stele inscription of Muyŏm refers to it as corresponding to the twenty-seventh day (See *Zutangji* 祖堂集 vol. 17).

5 The eleventh month is a rendering for the term *changyue* 暢月 which is explained in the *Liji* 禮記, Yueling chapter ("proceedings of government in the different months") states that "The midwinter month is called Changyue" 仲冬之月 命之曰暢月 and the commentary adds that "this month is the month of replenishment. It causes the myriad of things to be enriched, because it does not move." 此月爲充實之月 當使萬物充實 不發動故也 In the "Record on Midwinter" 仲冬記 of the *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, it is likewise said that "In the midwinter month, the sun is at the Big Dipper, and so on [thus this month is referred to as Changyue]." 仲冬之月 日在斗云云命之曰暢月

6 A reference to the Huang Chao 黃巢 Revolt (875–884) during Huizong's reign. When Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗 acceeded to the throne in 888, he changed the reign title from Guangqi 光啓 to Wende.

of two [consecutive] courts of Haedong,[7] having washed [his hands] and taken a bath, sat cross-legged and entered into nirvāṇa.[8] The people in the [whole] country mourned [him] as if [they had lost] their left and right eyes, how much more so his disciples! Alas, eighty-nine springs [have passed] since he had manifested his body[9] in the East[10] and sixty-five summers[11] since he took the Western precepts.[12] Three days after he had left the world, he was reclining on a rope-bottomed seat with a solemn face looking as if he was [still] alive. His disciple Sun'ye and others cried as they respectfully attended his bequeathed body which they temporarily sheltered in a coffin in the meditation hall.[13] Upon hearing this, the queen [i.e., Chinsŏng][14] deeply grieved. She sent an envoy with a letter of condolence and grain to contribute for the funeral expenses. Therefore they supplied a pure offering to provide for the [master's] arcane happiness.[15]

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7 Haedong, literally "[the Land] East of the Sea" is another name for Silla or the Korean peninsula.

8 The term for *nirvāṇa* here is *myŏl* 滅, literally "extinction."

9 The term translated as "manifested" is *ŭng* 應 (Ch. *ying*), literally meaning "response." As the Sŏn master was considered a great bodhisattva, what he manifested was the response body (S. *nirmāṇakāya*, Ch. *yingshen* 應身). The Sŏn master was a great bodhisattva who manifested himself in bodily form in the Eastern country of Silla as a response to the need of the people to be saved.

10 The East is a reference to Haedong (Silla).

11 The word for "year" used here literally means "summer" (夏), because monks count years and base their seniority upon the number of summer retreats (夏安居, lasting from the fifteenth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month) they undergo.

12 Western refers to India, located west from China. Nanghye took the Buddhist precepts upon his ordination as a monk.

13 The coffin with the Sŏn Master's corpse was placed in a Sŏn hall on a temporary base, because the time corresponded to the period of practice during the winter retreat. This was a provisional measure until a proper funeral could be performed at the end of the retreat period. This provisional funeral is also referred to as *kabin* 假殯.

14 Nanghye's death occurred in 888 which corresponds to the reign of Queen Chinsŏng (r. 887–897).

15 Arcane happiness (Kr. *hyŏnbok*, Ch. *xuanfu* 玄福) is a term similar to *myŏngbok* (Ch. *mingfu* 冥福) and refers to the happiness in the other world of a defunct person.

越二年, 攻石封層冢, 聲聞王京. 菩薩戒弟子武州都督蘇判鎰, 執事侍郎寬柔, 貝江都護咸雄, 全州別駕英雄, 皆王孫也. 維城輔君德, 險道賴師恩, 何必出家, 然後入室. 遂與門人, 昭玄大德釋通賢, 四天王寺上座釋愼符, 議曰, "師云亡, 君爲慟, 奈何吾儕, 忍灰心木舌, 缺緣飾在式之義乎." 迺白黑相應, 請贈謚曁銘塔, 教曰, "可."

Two years later, a stone slab was cut and a layered burial mound was sealed.[16] News thereof reached the royal capital. The disciples who had received the bodhisattva precepts[17] [included] the commander-in-chief of Muju[18] and sop'an[19] Kim Il, the attendant office manager[20] Kim Kwan-yu, the protector of P'aekang[21] Kim Ham-ung, and the assistant commander-

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16 Layered mound (Kr. *ch'ŭngch'ong*, Ch. *cengzhong* 層塚) refers to a stūpa. Note that usually a stūpa is rendered in Korean (and Chinese) as either *t'ap* (Ch. *ta* 塔) or *pudo* (Ch. *futu* 浮屠). The former refers to a stūpa in which the *śarīra* of a Buddha are enshrined, whereas the latter where the relics of a [Sŏn] patriarch are enshrined.

17 The Bodhisattva precepts (*Posal-kye*, Ch. *Pusa jie* 菩薩戒), also referred to as "Mahāyāna precepts" (*Taesŭng-kye*, Ch. *Dasheng jie* 大乘戒), are the precepts that are to be observed by bodhisattvas and as such can be taken not only by monks and nuns, but also by lay male and female practitioners.

18 Commander-in-chief of Muju 武州都督: Muju (present-day Kwangju) was one of Silla's nine prefectures 州. The term *todok* 都督, translated here as commander-in-chief, refers to the army commander (*kunju* 軍主) who was appointed from an official having the rank ranging from *kŭbch'an* 級飡 to *yich'an* 伊飡. The latter were official rank designations used from the time of King Wŏnsŏng onwards. See *Samguk sagi* vol. 40, Treatise on Official Posts 職官志, Outer Officials 外官.

19 *Sop'an* 蘇判 is another name for *chapch'an*, the third of Silla's seventeen official ranks 官等. See *Samguk sagi* vol. 38, Treatise on Official Posts 職官志 上.

20 The attendant office manager (*chipsa sirang* 執事侍郎) was a secondary official position 次官 in Silla's Governing Agency (*Chipsa-sŏng* 執事省) The sirang was previously known as chŏndadŭng 典大等 (from the sixteenth year of King Chinhŭng) but renamed sirang in the sixth year of King Kyŏngdŏk. Officials having the rank ranging from *naema* 奈麻 to *ach'an* 阿飡 were nominated to that position. See *Samguk sagi* vol. 38, Treatise on Official Posts 職官志 上, entry on *Chipsa-sŏng* 執事省.

21 Protector of P'aekang (*p'aekang toho* 浿江都護) refers to the Head Director (tusang daegam 頭上大監) of P'aekang Fortress 浿江鎭. Silla built this fortress in the context of its policy to expand its territory to the north. The titles for the officials ranking below the fortress' director were enacted in the third year of Queen Sŏndŏk's reign (782) (See Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Silla hadae ŭi wangwi kyesŭng kwa chŏngch'i kwajŏng" 新羅 下代의 王位繼承과 政治過程 in *Silla kolp'umje sahoe wa*

in-chief [22] of Chŏnju,[23] Kim Yŏng-ung. They all were royal descendants. The fortified walls [i.e., the king's relatives][24] assisted the ruler's virtue. On the dangerous path they relied on the master's kindness. Why would they have to leave the household [to become monks first] in order to enter the [master's] room?[25] Eventually they consulted with the disciples Sŏk[26] T'onghyŏn,

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hwarangdo 新羅 骨品制 社會와 花郞徒, Iljogak 1984, 148–149). However, the position of Head Director, institutionalized during Queen Sŏndŏk's reign is referred to as *toho* 都護 ("Protector") in this as well as in other stele inscriptions dating from the ninth century, which indicates that Silla in the meantime had imitated the official titles system of the Tang dynasty. Looking at the biographies of the individuals put in charge of the P'aekang Fortress, it becomes clear that the position of Protector was the highest rank that an individual of head-rank six (*yuktup'um*) could obtain as an Outer Official (外官, i.e., as an official serving outside the capital) and as such corresponded to the post of Office Manager in the Governing Agency of the central government in the capital. (Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Silla hadae ŭi P'aekang-jin" 新羅 下代의 浿江鎭, op. cit., pp. 217–225).

22 The assistant commander-in-chief (*pyŏlga* 別駕) is another designation for the Prefectural Assistant (*chubo* 州輔 or *chujo* 州助) whose duties consisted in assisting the Protector 都督 of a prefecture. This too has been adopted from the Tang system. The term *pyŏlga* appears for the first time in the stele "Changnim-sa Mugu chŏngt'ap wŏn'gi" dating from 855 (corresponding to the seventeenth year of King Munsŏng's rule) and was considered by Suematsu Yasukazu 末松保和 to be a synonym for *chubo* 州助 (See "Changnim-sa Mugu chŏngt'ap wŏn'gi", in *Shiragi shi no sho mondai* 新羅史の諸問題, 1954, p. 472). In contrast, Fujita Ryōsaku 藤田亮策 considers *chubo* as referring to the *changsa* 長史 ("Administrator") ("Shiragi kyūshū gokei kō" 新羅九州五京考, *Chōsen gakuhō* 朝鮮學報 5, 1953; *Chōsengaku ronkō* 朝鮮學論考, 1963, p. 362). But since in the "Changnim-sa Mugu chŏngt'ap wŏn'gi" the *pyŏlga* 別駕 of Myŏngju 溟州 is mentioned together with the changsa of Muju 武州, Fujita's view has been pointed out as wrong by Yi Ki-dong 李基東 (Yi Ki-dong, "Silla hadae ŭi P'aekang-jin", p. 219).

23 Chŏnju 全州, one of Silla's nine prefectures, originally had been Paekje's Wansan 完山. In the fifth year of Silla's King Sinmun's reign, it was renamed Wansan-ju 完山州, and later, in the sixteenth year of King Kyŏngdŏk, it was renamed Chŏnju. (*Samguk sagi* vol. 36, Treatise on Geography 地理志 3).

24 Fortified walls (Ch. *weicheng* 維城) is a metaphor for the royal clan. The *Shijing* 詩經 Daya (Greater Odes) 大雅, states that "The circle of [the king's] relatives is a fortified wall." "宗子維城."

25 Entering the master's room was a ritual in which a disciple entered the room of a Sŏn master to receive instruction. Access to the master's room was usually a privilege open to monks.

26 The character *sŏk* (Ch. *shi* 釋) is an abridged form of the Chinese transliteration *Shijiamouni* 釋迦牟尼 for the Sanskrit Śākyamuni. The practice of adopting *shi* or *sŏk* as their surname by Chinese

Taedŏk[27] and [Controller-in-chief of] the Office for the Clarification of [Buddhist Profundities],[28] and Sŏk Sinbu, Sangjwa[29] of Sach'ŏnwang-sa,[30] saying "The master is dead and the ruler is mourning. How can we endure to have a mind of ashes [i.e., be insensitive] and a tongue of wood [i.e., be silent]?[31] [It is incumbent upon us to repay the kindness of our master] by means of the three types of right conduct."[32] Thereupon monks and lay

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and Korean monks upon ordination originates with Daoan 道安 (312–385)'s suggestion that upon leaving the world one enters the Buddha's clan, that is, the clan of the Śākyas.

27 *Taedŏk* (Ch. *Dade* 大德), lit. "great virtue" is originally a term of respect for the Buddha or monks, corresponding to the Sanskrit term mahā bhadanta. However, in East Asia, the term as also been used as an official title. In Silla, *Taedŏk* was a honorary title conferred by royal decree on a monk who had achieved merit of some sort. The earliest example is the monk Chimyŏng 智明 who was given this title by King Chinp'yŏng. (See, *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 4, and Ch'oe Chi'wŏn's "Silla Kaya-san Haein-sa Sŏn'anju wŏnbyŏk ki" (in *Tongmunsŏn*, vol. 64) where the monks Chiyŏng 智穎 and Sŭn'go 乘固, who lived during Queen Sŏndŏk's reign (?–647), are mentioned as the first *Taedŏk*. Ch'oe Chi'wŏn mentions that the age required to be nominated as taedŏk was fifty or older, and that this honorary position was limited to seen years. He also refers to the title of *Pyŏl Taedŏk* 別大德 which was granted to elder and experienced monks, especially to those affiliated with the Pŏpsang school 法相宗 or with the Hwaŏm school 華嚴宗.

28 *Sohyŏn* (Ch. *zhaoxuan* 昭玄) refers to *Sohyŏn sŏ* (Ch. *zhaoxuan-shu* 昭玄署), or Sohyŏn chŏngsŏ (Ch. *zhaoxuan-jingshu* 昭玄精署), the office monitoring monks and nuns which originated from the "Office for the Clarification of [Buddhist Profundities]" (*Zhaoxuan-si* 昭玄寺) in the Later Wei 後魏 [285]. See the "Baiguan zhi" 百官志 (Treatise on Officialdom) in the *Suishu* 隋書.

29 *Sangjwa* (Ch. *Shangzuo* 上座; S. *sthavira*), lit. "Senior Seat" (or just "Elder") was a monk office which, together with the offices of *Saju* (Ch. *Shizhu* 寺主; S. *vihārasvāmin*), and *Toyuna* (Ch. *duweina* 都維那, S. *karmadāna*) were known as the "three bonds" (Kr. *samgang*; Ch. *sangang* 三綱), i.e. the directors of a monastery.

30 Sach'ŏnwang-sa 四天王寺 (lit. 'Monastery of the Four Heavenly Kings') was built in 679 and the housed a Sŏngjŏn 成典 office. A Sŏngjŏn was an office in charge of managing the monastery and supervising maintenance works. In the Silla dynasty, there were seven such Sŏngjŏn, at Sach'ŏnwang-sa, Pongsŏng-sa, Pongdŏk-sa, Kam'ŭn-sa, Pong'ŭn-sa, Yŏngmyo-sa, and Yŏnghŭng-sa. Among them, the Sŏngjŏn at Sach'ŏnwang-sa was the highest in rank, which in turn illustrates the importance of Sach'ŏnwang-sa during that time. See the entry Sach'ŏnwang-sa 四天王寺成典 in the "Treatise on Official Posts" 職官志 上 of the *Samguk sagi*, fasc. 38.

31 I.e., being indifferent and silent.

people[33] concurred to request [the king] to confer a posthumous title and [to provide] a stele inscription for the stūpa. [The king] gave an instruction, which said, "I approve it."

旋命王孫夏官二卿禹珪, 召桂苑行人侍御史崔致遠. 至蓬萊宮, 因得竝琪樹上瑤墀, 跽竢命珠箔外. 上曰, "故聖住大師, 眞一佛出世, 昔文考康王, 咸師事, 福國家爲日久. 余始克纉承, 願繼餘先志, 而天不憖遺, 益用悼厥心. 余以有大行者, 授大名故追諡曰大朗慧, 塔曰白月葆光. 乃啻西宦絲染錦歸. 顧文考選國子命學之, 康王視國士禮待之, 若宜銘國師以報之."

Before long, [the king] ordered his royal descendant, Vice Minister in the Ministry of War[34] [Kim] U-gyu to summon the Messenger of the Hanlin Academy and Attendant Censor Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn. [Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn] arrived at the Pongnae Palace,[35] where he [together] with [other] eminent scholars (lit. 'jade trees') ascended the palace steps, kneeling and awaiting for orders outside of the pearl screen. The queen [Chinsŏng] said: "The late Great Master Sŏngju truly was a Buddha who appeared in the world. Formerly, my late father [King Kyŏng]mun and [King Hŏn']gang both respected him as their teacher. A long time has passed since they brought happiness to the state. I then succeeded to the throne and wished to continue the will of my

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32 The three forms of right conduct refer to repaying the kindness received from one's ruler, teacher, and father. See *Wenxuan* 文選, Huan Wen 桓溫 "Jian Jiao Yan biao" [Memorial Recommending Jiao Yan] 薦焦彦表, "As they keep minds with traces of deception, the teachings should be in the three restraints" 亦有秉心矯跡 以敎在三之節.

33 Literally "the white and the black" (Kr. *paek hŭk*; Ch. *bai hei* 白黑). White refers to the white clothes worn by secular people or lay Buddhists, whereas black refers to the black robes worn by Buddhist monks. The combination of both terms refers to the Buddhist community (S. *saṃgha*) as a whole.

34 Vice Minister in the Ministry of War, *hagwan igyŏng* (Ch. *xiaguan erjing* 夏官二卿). Xiaguan literally means office or official for summer, traditionally considered the season for conducting war. The ministry of war was one of the six ministries.[Hucker 2296] *Erjing* is an unofficial reference to the vice ministers in those six ministries. [Hucker 1830]

35 *Pongnae* (Ch. *Penglai*) refers to one of the five mythical mountains where immortal sages are said to abide. The Pongnae Palace was the central building in Queen's Chinsŏng's palace complex.

ancestors. However, heaven was not willing to bequeath[36] [a eminent monk], which made my mind to mourn him even more. As I confer a great name to those who have great moral conduct, I confer [upon him] the posthumous title Tae Nanghye (lit. "Great Bright Wisdom") and [his] stūpa is to be named Paekwŏl Pokwang (lit. "bright moon concealing light"). You [i.e., Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn] once were a government official in the West [i.e., China] and returned [to Silla] [wearing] dyed silk clothes and brocade. Looking back, my deceased father, [King Kyŏng]mun selected you as Scion of the State and ordered you to study [in Tang China].[37] King Hŏn'gang treated you with courtesy appropriate for a national scholar.[38] Thus it is appropriate that you compile the inscription of the National Preceptor to repay [the kindness you received from both kings]."

謝曰, "主臣, 殿下恕粟饒浮秕, 桂飽餘馨, 俾報德以文, 固多天幸. 第大師於有爲澆世, 演無爲秘宗, 小臣以有限麽才, 紀無限景行, 弱�載重, 短綆汲深. 其或石有異言, 龜無善顧, 決叵使山輝川媚, 反羸得林慙澗愧, 請笔路斯避."

[I, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn] declined, saying: "Your Majesty, forgive me, for

36 The expression "willing to bequeath" *yinwei* 憖遺 is explained in the *Shijing* 詩經 Xiaoya "Minor Odes" 小雅 十月之交 "Jiao of the tenth month" as "He could not bring himself to leave a single minister, Who might guard our king. "不憖遺一老、俾守我王."

37 *Kukja* (Ch. *guozi* 國子), literally "scion of state", originally was a collective designation of the sons and younger brothers of feudal lords, ministers, and grand masters in the Zhou and Han dynasties. In this context, it also refers to *Kukjahak* (Ch. *guozixue* 國子學) or the "National University" (a.k.a. "School for the Sons of the State). Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn's statement that King Kyŏngmun selected him to study at as a "Scion of the State" possibly refers to Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn's journey to Tang China at the age of twelve. Should that be the case, then, unlike it has been heretofore considered, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn did not journey to China on a private basis, but as a state-sponsored student. But this is a matter awaiting further inquiry.

38 National Scholar (Kr. *kuksa*, Ch. *guoshi* 國士) is a reference to the foremost scholar in the realm. When Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn returned to Silla in 885, King Hŏn'gang conferred upon him the prestigious title of "Reader-in-waiting and concurrent Hanlin Academician, probationary gentleman attendant to the bureau of military appointments, and administrator of the directorate for auspicious documents" 侍讀兼翰林學士守兵部郎知瑞書監. *Kuksa* is a reference to that appointment.

I –your servant– am afraid that I am [worthless like] superfluous and unripe grain, satiated by the remaining fragrance of laurel.[39] Having [me] to repay the kings' virtue by writing is definitely more than heaven's favor. However, the Great Master [while being] in the degenerate age of the conditioned realm, expounded the secret teaching of the unconditioned realm. For me, a mediocre subject with limited and insignificant talent, to record the [master's] unlimited bright conduct[40] is like carrying a heavy load on a fragile cart, or like using a short rope to draw water from a deep well.[41] If that slab [i.e., the stele] tells strange things[42], or if the turtle [supporting the stele] does not look back kindly [upon the stele inscription],[43] it is definitely not possible to cause the mountain to shine or the rivers to charm.[44] Instead one will incur humiliation from the forests and shame from mountain streams.[45] [Hence]

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39 "Satiated by the remaining fragrance of laurel" is a metaphor for Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn's study and scholarly activity in China.

40 The expression *muhan kyŏnghaeng* (Ch. *wuxian jingxing* 無限景行) most likely is an adaptation from a phrase occurring in the *Shijing* 詩經 Xiaoya "Lesser Odes" 小雅 entry *chehe* 車舝, as "To the high hills I looked; The great way I pursued." "高山仰止 景行行止", a metaphor for a limitless virtuous conduct.

41 The expression "using a short rope to draw water from a deep well" refers to the difficulty of accomplishing great tasks with a mediocre talent. This expression is found in Daoist texts such as the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Zhile Chapter [Supreme Happiness] 至樂, "小者不可以懷大 短綆者不可以汲深"; the *Xunzi* 荀子, Rongru Chapter 榮辱, "短綆不可以汲深井之泉 知不機者不可與之聖人之言"; and the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, Shuolinxun Chapter 說林訓, "短綆不加以汲深 器小不可以盛大 非其任也."

42 A slab telling strange things refers to an episode in the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, entry for the eighth year of Zhaogong 昭公, where the Marquis of Jin refers to a slab telling strange things in order to express the popular resentment over the building of the imperial palace.

43 Most stele stood on the back of a pedestal shaped in the form of a turtle, an animal symbolizing longevity. See Liu Yiqing's 劉義慶 *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語.

44 "The mountains shining and the rivers enchanting 山輝川媚: if stones hide jade and water harbors gems, mountains shine and rivers are beautiful." This is a reference to a man with learning and virtue who shows himself to society through his literary compositions. See *Wenxuan* 文選 Lu Ji 陸機, "Wenfu" (Rhapsody on Literature) 文賦, "石蘊玉而山暉 水懷珠而川媚."

45 "Incur shame from forests and mountain streams" 林慙澗愧: a person without principles disguises

I request to be excused from composing that [inscription]."

上曰, "好讓也, 蓋吾國風, 善則善已, 然苟不能是, 惡用黃金牓爲, 爾勉之." 遽出書一編, 大如椓[46]者. 俾中涓授受, 乃門弟子所獻狀也.

The queen said, "The tendency to [politely] decline is indeed a good custom of our country.[47] However, if you are unable to do this, what was the use [of your name being posted on] the golden tablet [of the successful candidates of the civil service examinations].[48] Do make an effort [to write] it." She suddenly produced one compilation of writing as big as as a lump of timber. She had the palace eunuchs[49] give it to me. It was the [master's] account of conduct that his disciples had presented [to her].

復惟之, 西學也彼此俱爲之, 而爲師者何人, 爲役者何人. 豈心學者高, 口學者

himself as a recluse and if hiding in mountain forests, the forest and rivers will all be ashamed of him. This refers to a dull-witted person pretending to be educated but being considered to be a disgrace by others. See *Wenxuan* 文選 Kong Jigui 孔稚圭, "Beishan yi wen" 北山移文, "The humiliation from the forests will be endless and the shame from the mountain streams will not stop"其林慙無盡澗愧不歇.

46 椽 instead of 椓.

47 On [politely] declining as being a good custom [in Korea], see the *Shanhaijing* 山海經, "The country of the gentlemen is to the north. They wear caps and swords, and eat wild animals, and are accompanied by two great tigers at their side(?). These people love declining the impure"君子國 在其北 衣冠帶劍食獸 使二大虎在旁 其人好讓不爭.

48 The golden tablet contained the names of the successful candidates in the literary branch of the civil service examinations, whereas the names of successful candidates of the military branch were posted on a silver tablet.

49 The term translated as palace eunuchs, *chungyŏn* (Ch. *zhongjuan* 中涓), originally refers to the servants in the entourage of the Son of Heaven (天子). In this inscription, the term seems to refer to the Court Attendants 近侍 in charge of serving the king or the heir apparent, who were affiliated to the Palace Chancellery (*chungsasŏng* 中事省) whose duty consisted in composing royal edicts (詔誥). In the epigraphic material of the Late Silla period, these servants were also referred to by the terms *naeyang* 內養 or *chungsa-in* 中舍人. (See Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Namal ryŏch'o kŭnsi kigu wa munhan kigu ŭi hwakjang", op. cit., pp. 236–240).

勞耶. 故古之君子, 愼所學. 抑心學者立德, 口學者立言, 則彼德也, 或憑言而可稱, 是言也, 或倚悳而不朽. 可稱則心能遠示乎來者, 不朽則口亦無慙乎昔人. 爲可爲於可爲之時, 復焉敢膠讓乎篆刻.

Again thinking about it, studying in the West [i.e., China] is what he [i.e., the master] and I [Choe Ch'i-wŏn] both did. But who [among us] has become a master, who has become a servant? How come that the one who studied the mind [i.e., Buddhism] is given prominent treatment whereas the one who studied the mouth [i.e., Confucianism] has to toil? Therefore the superior person[50] in the past was cautious in what he studied. But the one studying the mind established virtue, whereas the one studying the mouth established language, which accordingly [was necessary to express] the virtue of the former. Again, one has to rely on language to be able to express [virtue]. This is [the function of] language. Again, one has to rely on virtue if it is not to decay. One has to be able to express it [by language] in order that the mind can be shown to distant [generations] to come. It will not decay if [what is spoken by] the mouth does not humiliate the people of the past. What can be done should be done at the [appropriate] time when it can be done. Again, how dare I obstinately decline [to compose the inscription that is to be] carved in seal script?

始繹如椓狀, 則見大師西遊, 東返之歲年, 禀戒悟禪之因緣, 公卿守宰之歸仰, 像殿影堂之開剏, 故翰林郎金立之所撰, 聖住寺碑, 叙之詳矣. 爲佛爲孫之德化, 爲君爲師之聲價, 鎭俗降魔之威力, 鵬顯鶴歸之動息, 贈太傅獻康大王親製深妙寺碑, 錄之備矣. 顧腐儒之今作也, 止宜標, 我師就般涅盤之期, 與吾君崇窣堵婆之號而已.

Only then did I unravel his jade[-like] Account of Conduct and then I saw the year [i.e., date] of the great master's journey to the West [i.e., China] and [the year of] his return East [i.e., Silla], the circumstances of his

50 The "superior person" (Kr. *kunja*, Ch. *junzi* 君子, lit. "lord's son") is a term used in Confucianism to describe the ideal human being.

receiving the [full] precepts and of his enlightenment to [the principles of] Sŏn, his becoming the refuge for and object of veneration of high-ranking officials and administrators,[51] and his establishment of [Buddha-] images halls[52] and portrait halls.[53] The stele inscription at Sŏngju-sa[54] composed by the late Hanlin Academician[55] Kim Ip-ji[56] has described this in detail. His

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51 *Sujae* (Ch. *shouzai* 守宰): lit. protector and steward. A reference to *taishou* 太守 "governor" [Hucker 6221] and *zaixang* 宰相 "Grand Councilor" [Hucker 6819]. Territorial Administrator, a generic reference to members of units of territorial administration. [Hucker 5402]

52 *Sangjŏn* (Ch. *xiangdian* 像殿), lit. "statue/image hall" refers to a hall where Buddha statues or images are enshrined.

53 *Yŏngdang* (Ch. *yingtang* 影堂), lit. "portrait-hall" refers to a building in which the portraits of Sŏn patriarchs are enshrined.

54 The "Inscription of Sŏngju-sa" (*Sŏngju-sa pi* 聖住寺碑) is an inscription relating the life of the Sŏn Master Muyŏm 無染. It is extant in fragments at the site of Sŏngju-Monastery, near Poryŏng in Southern Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. (See Hwang Su-yŏng, *Hanguk kŭmsŏk yumun*, pp. 86–91; *Hanguk kŭmsŏk chŏnmun: Kodae p'yŏn*, p. 263).

55 *Hallim-lang* 翰林郎, refers to *Hallim haksa* or Hanlin Academician in the Late Silla. According to the *Samguk sagi* fasc. 9, Treatise on Official Posts 職官志, the position of *sangmunsa* 詳文師 ("Editor") was renamed in 714 to *t'ongmun paksa* 通文博士 (Erudite in Literature) and, during the reign of Kyŏngdŏk (r. 742–765) changed into *Hallim* 翰林, an Erudite 學士.

Although this Hallim institution during Kyŏngdŏk's reign was modelled upon the Tang system, in the Tang the position of Hanlin Academician was an honorary official post 令外官 without a specific official rank, whereas in Silla, the title of Hallim Academician was given in accordance with a fixed official rank, which reflects the social hierarchy according to the "bone-rank system" 骨品制.

Approximately in 880, the *Hallim-tae* 翰林臺 was renamed *Sŏsŏ-wŏn* 瑞書院 and the positions of *haksa* (Academician) 學士 and *chikhak-saje* 直學士提 (Auxiliary Academician) were established, which asumed a central function of the literary institutions (文翰機關) in the late Silla period. (Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Namal ryŏch'o kŭnsi kigu wa munhan kigu ŭi hwakjang", op. cit., pp. 247–255).

56 Kim Ip-ji 金立之 was one of the twelve Royal Bodyguard Students 宿衛學生 who went to Tang China in 825 with the Silla envoy to the Tang Court, Kim Hŭn 金昕. He probably passed the Tang civil service examinations for foreigners and returned to Silla, where, as Hallim-lang, he was appointed in 855 as Governor and Lord of Ch'usŏng District. Kim Ip-ji was active in the mid-ninth century in literary academic circles, and known for having composed the "Ch'angnim-sa Mugu chŏngt'ap wŏngi" and "Inscription of Sŏngju-sa" 聖住寺碑. (Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Na mal Ryŏ ch'o kŭnsi kigu wa munhan kigu ŭi hwakjang," p. 250).

virtuous proselytizing for the sake of the Buddha and for his descendants, his reputation as serving the ruler and serving his teacher, his authoritative power pacifying the secular world and subduing demons, his performance of manifesting himself like the Peng bird[57] and returning [i.e., leaving] like a crane,[58] has been completely recorded in the stele inscription at Simmyo-sa,[59] personally produced by the Great Mentor, the Great King Hŏn'gang.[60] Therefore, what I, a spoiled [Confucian] scholar, now [have to] do is merely limited to mark the dates of our master's entrance into parinirvāṇa and of our ruler's pious bestowal of his stūpa's title.

口將手議, 役將自適其適, 這有上足苾芻, 來趣蠶臼語及斯意. 則曰, "立之碑, 立之久矣, 尚闕數十年遺美, 太傅王神筆所紀, 盖顯示殊遇云爾. 吾子, 口嚼古賢

57 Peng 鵬 is a giant bird that transforms from a giant fish (Kun 鯤) in Chinese mythology. The oldest record of the Peng and Kun myth occurs in the first chapter ("Free and Easy Wandering" Xiao Yao You 逍遙遊) of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 "北冥有魚 化而爲鳥 其名爲鵬 徙於南冥也." Here, Muyŏm's journey to Tang China is here compared to the flight of the Peng.

58 The expression "return of the crane" 鶴歸 occurs in the *Soushen Houji* 搜神後記, where a certain Ding Jinwei 丁令威, an individual from Liaodong 遼東 in the Han dynasty, is said to have mastered the art of the immortals 仙術 and ascended to heaven. "丁令威本遼東人學道于靈虛 後化鶴歸遼 集城門華表柱 時有少年 擧弓欲射之 學乃飛 緋徊空中而言曰 有鳥有鳥丁令威 去家千年今始歸 城郭如故人民非 何不學仙冢弄弄 遂高上冲天 今遼東諸丁云 其先世有昇仙者 但不知名字耳"

In this context, the Peng bird and the crane refer to Sŏn Master Muyŏm's travel to, and return from, China.

59 The inscription at Simmyo-sa 深妙寺碑 refers to the inscription of Sŏn Master Muyŏm, composed by King Hŏn'gang himself. Simmyo-sa was located near Sangju in present-day Northern Kyŏngsang Province. Thus, based on Ch'oe Ch'iwon's record, there was a total of at least three inscriptions of Sŏn Master Muyŏm.

60 *T'aebu* (Ch. *Taifu* 太傅, lit. Grand Mentor) is a posthumous title conferred to King Hŏn'gang by the Tang dynasty. According to the entry, "Fascicle 2, Memorial in Thanks for the Posthumous Grant of a Title 第二卷 謝追贈表" in Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn's *Collected Works* 文集, quoted in the *Samguk sagi* (fasc. 11), "臣坦言伏奉制旨 追贈亡父臣凝爲太師 亡兄臣晸爲太傅…." That is, in the T'aebu 太傅 which has been quoted in the entry for the first year of Queen Chinsŏng's reign, the posthumous title of King Hŏn'gang (獻康 var. 憲康; r. 875–886), the forty-ninth king of Silla and the son of king Kyŏngmun is mentioned as Chŏng 晸.

書, 面飮今君命, 耳飫國師行, 目醉門生狀. 宜廣記而備言之, 殆貽厥可畏, 俾原始要終. 脫西笑者, 或袖之脫西人笑則幸, 甚吾敢求益, 子無憚煩, 狂奴態餘." 率爾應曰, "僕編苫者, 師買采乎."

Just when I was about to write what I thought,[61] one of his superior disciples, a monk [lit. bhikṣu], came to request me for a "spicy plant squashed in a mortar."[62] [This reflects] his language and his intention. Then he said: "A long time passed since the stele inscription by [Kim] Ip-ji was erected. Still it omits the praiseworthy [acts that the master] bequeathed for several decades.

61 The expression 自適其適 "doing as one pleases" is taken from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Dazongshi Chapter 大宗師, "適人之適 而不自適 其適者也."

62 The term "spicy plant quashed in a mortar" (Ch. *jijiu* 虀臼) is a metaphor for a sophisticated piece of writing. It is based upon a story of filial piety occurring in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, *Lienuzhuan* (Biographies of Virtuous Women) 烈女傳 entry Cao E 曹娥. Cao E's father was a blind man who sang songs to string instruments (絃歌) and acted as a shaman. On the fifth day of the fifth month of 152, he drowned in a river while traveling upstream on a boat invoking the river spirit 波神. His fourteen-year old daughter Cao E witnessed his death from the shore and cried for seventeen days before jumping into the river and dying. Before long, Cao E's corpse, with her father's corpse on her back, emerged from the water. Government officials considered this as an example of filial piety and erected a virtuous woman stele (*lienu bei* 烈女碑) dedicated to her. Cai Yong 蔡邕 composed an eulogy (讃題) to it, saying "yellow pongee, youthful wife, maternal grandson, spicy plant squashed in mortar"黃絹幼婦外孫虀臼.' The *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, Jiewu Chapter 捷悟 interprets this meaning as "Cao Cao and Yang Xiu were passing by the stele for Cao E. On the back of the stele were the eight characters, 'yellow pongee, youthful wife, maternal grandson, spicy plant squashed in a mortar.' Yang Xiu said, 'Yellow pongee is colored thread, which forms the character jue (utterly), youthful wife is young woman, which forms the character miao (marvellous), maternal grandson is a woman's son which forms the character hao (lovely), and spicy plant squashed in a mortar is to sense bitterness which forms the character ci (words). So it means utterly marvellous, lovely words.' Yang Xiu knew this as soon as he saw it. Cao Cao traveled thirty *li* before he knew this. And he sighed, 'The difference between wisdom and ignorance is thirty *li*.' 魏武與楊修嘗過曹娥碑下 碑背有黃絹幼婦外孫虀臼八字 修曰 黃絹 色絲也 於字爲絶 幼婦 少女也 於字爲妙 外孫 女子也 於字爲好 虀臼 受辛也 於字爲辭所謂 絶妙好辭也 楊修見卽知 曹操行三十里 方知 嘆曰 有智無智 較三十里." See Richard B. Mather, *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976, pp. 293–294.

What the Great Mentor [King Hŏn'gang] recorded with his divine brush [i.e., exquisite calligraphy], for the most part merely showed the special treatment [he had accorded to him]. Sir, your mouth eloquently talks about the writings of ancient worthies, your face drank orders from the current ruler, your ears are satiated from [having heard about] the state preceptor's conduct, your eyes are inebriated by [reading] his account of conduct [compiled] by his disciples. It is suitable to extensively record and fully narrate [his life], [even if] only to bequeath it to [future generations] worthy of respect,[63] so that they [know the master's life] from beginning to end.[64] If those avoiding being laughed at in the West [i.e., monks not going to study in China out of fear of having their ignorance exposed] put [this record of the master's life] in the sleeve [of their robes], then it will be very fortunate for them.[65] How dare I to request [you] for more? Do not shirk this troublesome task and [assume] the attitude of Kuangnu."[66] I [i.e., Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn] quickly replied to that, saying: "I am a

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63 "Worthy of respect" is an expression occurring in the *Lunyu* 論語, Zihan Chapter 子罕: "The Master said, 'A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present?' " 子曰: 後生可畏, 焉知來者之不如今也? In Buddhism, a similar expression is "shifazhe juyi 識法者懼矣."

64 "Investigate the origin and outcome of things" (*yuanshi yaozhong* 原始要終) is an expression occurring in the *Zhouyi* 周易, Xici Chapter 繫辭 下, as *yuanshi fanzhong* 原始反終. *Yuanshi yaozhong* occurs verbatim in the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, Preface 序, as "必廣記而備言之 其文緩其旨猿 將令學者 原始要終."

65 The implication is that the master's account provides a valuable and edifying source for monks of later generations who shun away from following the master's example to go seeking the Dharma in China.

66 "Kuangnu's attitude" 狂奴故熊 refers to an episode recorded in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書 (fasc. 113), in the "Biography of Yanguang" 嚴光傳. Kuangnu 狂奴 is the child name of Yanguang 嚴光 (whose courtesy name was Ziling 子陵). Kuangnu was an old friend of the Late Han 後漢 emperor Shizu 世祖, Guangwudi 光武帝 (Liu Xiu 劉秀). After Liu Xiu ascended the throne, Kuangnu changed his name and lived in seclusion. On three occasions the emperor sent his envoys to invite him to come to court, but each time Kuangnu refused. This was then referred as "Kuangnu's old attitude." Thus it was the emperor himself who went visit Kuangnu. Here, Kuangnu's attitude refers to an unaffected attitude.

weaver of straw matting, you are like a merchant of vegetables."[67]

遂絆猿心, 强搖兎翰, 憶得, 西漢書留侯傳□云, "良所與上從容言, 天下事甚衆, 非天下所以存亡, 故不著." 則大師時順間事蹟, 犖犖者星繁, 非所以警後學, 亦不書. 自許窺一班於班史, 然於是乎管述曰, 光盛且實, 而有暉八紘之質者, 莫均乎曉日, 氣和且融, 而有孚萬物之功者, 莫溥乎春風. 惟□風與旭日, 俱東方自出也, 則天鍾斯二餘慶, 嶽降于一靈性, 俾挺生君子國, 特立梵王家者, 我大師其人也.

Then I restrained my monkey-mind and forcibly swayed my hare-hair writing brush.[68] I remembered the biography of the Marquis of Liu[69] in the *Book of the Western Han*[70] saying, "[Zhang] Liang calmly discussed with the emperor the many affairs [that occurred] under heaven [i.e., in China]. [But] because these did not concern the destiny of China, they were not written down."[71] The outstanding deeds that the great master accomplished during

67 Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn compares himself to a weaver of a straw thatch because he is succinct in his writing style, while he compares the monk to a merchant of vegetables, who is meticulous in regard to quantity and quality.

68 A hare-hair brush (*tuhan* 兎翰) is just another reference for a brush. See Cao Zhi's 曹植 *Lefu* 樂府, "Ink is made from blue pine soot, a brush is made from a cunning hare's hair 墨出青松煙 筆出狡兎翰."

69 The Marquis of Liu refers to Zhang Liang (262–189 BCE), a strategist and statesman of the early Han Dynasty. He contributed greatly to the founding of the Han Dynasty and was given the title of "Marquis Wencheng of Liu" (留文成侯) by Emperor Gaozu of Han in recognition of his efforts. See *Shiji* 史記 vol. 55, "Liuhou shijia" 留侯世家.

70 The *Book of the Western Han* (Xi Hanshu 西漢書) refers to the *Hanshu* compiled by Ban Gu 班固. Xihan, or Western Han, is another name for the Former Han dynasty 前漢 (206 BCE–24 CE). The *Hanshu* records the history of the Former Han 前漢 dynasty in the annals and biographies style (jizhuanti 紀傳體). It consists of 120 fascicles spanning the 242 years and 12 generations of the dynasty. Begun by Ban Biao 班彪 of the Late Han 後漢, the work was completed by his son Ban Gu 班固, and further supplemented by Ban Zhao 班昭. Together with the *Shiji* 史記 and the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, they are referred to as the "three histories" (san shi 三史).

71 See *Hanshu* 漢書 vol. 40, "Biographies of the Zhang, Chen, Wang and Zhou (clans)" 張陳王周傳.

his lifetime[72] are as evident as bright-shining stars,[73] yet I do not write them down unless they [serve to] admonish students of future generations. As I have allowed myself to take a glimpse at Ban Gu's *History* [of the Han *Dynasty*], I shall then narrate [the master's life in chronological fashion] from my narrow point of view, saying: The light is abundant and prosperous, and its shining over the eight quarters[74] is a quality only matched by the sun at dawn. The vital energy is harmonious and interfusing, and its merit of hatching the myriad things is only as extensive as the spring breeze. The wind and the morning sun both emerge from the eastern quarter. Heaven bestows these two superabundant felicities.[75] From the mountain peak descends a numinous nature so that an outstanding [person] is born in the "Country of the Superior Person" [i.e., Silla]. The one who stood out in the royal house of Brahman [i.e., the Buddhist community],[76] that person was our great master.

法號無染, 於圓覺祖師爲十世孫. 俗姓金氏, 以武烈大王爲八代祖. 大父周川, 品眞骨, 位韓粲. 高曾出入皆將相, 戶知之. 父範淸, 族降眞骨一等, 曰得難[國有五品, 曰聖而曰眞骨曰得難, 言貴姓之難得. 文賦云, 或'求易而得難,' 從言六頭品. 數多爲貴, 猶一命至九, 其四五品不足言]. 晩節, 追蹤趙文業. 母華氏, 魂交,

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72 The term rendered as "during his lifetime" is *shishun* 時順 and means "to perform one's duties in accordance with the circumstances of the time." This expression occurs in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Yangshengzhu Chapter 養生主, "適來 夫子時也 適去 夫子順也 夫子 有道者之尊稱也."

73 For the expression "as evident as the stars", see Han Yu's 韓愈 "Dai Zhang Ji yu Li Zhedong shu" [Letter on behalf of Zhang Ji to Li Zhedong] 代張籍與李浙東書, "Only your sir in affairs of the mind are eminent, and not the same as the vulgar crowd" 惟閤下心事犖犖 與俗輩不同.

74 Literally, the "eight crown cords" (Ch. *ba hong* 八紘), a term occurring in the "Forms of Earth" (*zhuixingxun* 墬形訓) section of the *Huainanzi*, in which the "eight crown cords" are identical to the eight quarters (*ba fang* 八方).

75 See *Yijing*, section Kun 坤, "The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness." 積善之家, 必有餘慶.

76 Lit. "the family of King Brahma", Brahma being a reference to Śakyamuni, thus the term being a reference to the Buddhist community.

覩脩臂天垂授敷花, 因有娠. 幾踰時, 申夢胡道人自稱法藏授十護, 充胎教. 過朞而誕大師.

His Dharma-name was Muyŏm ["Undefiled"]. He was the tenth generation descendant of the patriarch Yuanjue [i.e., Bodhidharma].[77] His secular surname was Kim. The Great King Muyŏl was his eighth generation ancestor.[78] His grandfather [Kim] Chu-ch'ŏn was of "true-bone" rank,[79] and of "hanch'an" status.[80] His great-great grandfather and great-grandfather were consecutively [appointed] generals and ministers of state. [Every] household knew this. His father was [Kim] Pŏm-ch'ŏng,[81] [in whose time]

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77 "Patriarch Yuanjue" is a reference to "Great Master Yuanjue" 圓覺大師, the posthumous title that the Tang emperor Daizong 代宗 had conferred upon Bodhidharma, known as the twenty-eighth Indian patriarch and the first Chinese patriarch of Chan.

The reference to Muyŏm as tenth generation descendant of Bodhidharma, in terms of Dharma lineage, can be charted as follows: Bodhidharma, Huike 慧可, Sengcan 僧璨, Daoxin 道信, Hongren 弘忍, Huineng 慧能 (the sixth patriarch), followed by Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓, Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一, Magu Baoche 麻谷寶徹, and finally Sŏngju Muyŏm 聖住無染.

78 Muyŏm belonged to the branch of the royal family which traces its lineage through the prince Munwang 文汪, the third son of king Muyŏl.

79 "True-bone" (*chingol* 眞骨) refers to the Silla dynasty "bone-rank system" which consisted of the royal bone system merged with the "head-rank system." The true-bone is mentioned in the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 "Treatise on Silla" Xinluozhuan 新羅傳 as "其建官 以親屬爲上其族名第一骨. 第二骨爲自別 兄弟女姑姨從姉妹 皆聘爲妻 王族爲第一骨 妻亦其族 生子皆爲第一骨 不娶第二骨女 雖娶常爲妾媵." The true-bone rank corresponded to members of the royal family, and was also different from other ranks by marriage. Members of this rank monopolized the posts of minister or military commanders both in the central government in the capital and in the local government bodies outside the capital. They held the post of Daeach'an or higher. They were differentiated from other social classes by their clothes, vehicles, utensils, houses. See *Samguk Sagi* vol. 33, Miscellany 雜誌 2.

80 Hanch'an 韓粲 refers to Silla's fifth rank of officials 官等, the Daeach'an 大阿飡. Only members of the true-bone class were eligible for this rank.

81 According to the commentary on the *Ch'oe Mun-chang hu chŏnjip* 崔文昌侯全集, Kim Pŏmch'ŏng practiced swordsmanship in his later years, but, upon witnessing Hŏn Chang-gong 憲章公's execution for treason, he became a Buddhist monk. Thereupon he was bestowed upon royal order with the title of "great venerable of bone-rank" (*Kolp'um Taedŏk* 骨品大德) and assigned to the post of Superintendent of Monks of Hanju 漢州僧統.

his clan was lowered one rank, from that of "true bone" to that of "difficult to obtain."[82] (In the country [of Silla] were five ranks: the "hallowed[-bone]", "true-bone", and "difficult to obtain." ["Difficult to obtain"] refers to nobility as being difficult to obtain. The [Book on] *Literature and Poetry* said, "I is easy to find, but it is difficult to obtain." Therefore this refers to the "head-rank six." To consider a great number as valuable is just like considering one life to be worth nine [lives]. Head-rank four and head-rank five are not worth mentioning). In his later years [Kim Pŏmch'ŏng] followed the steps of [King] Wen of Zhao's craft [i.e., delighting in sword-fighting].[83] His mother was from the Hwa clan. While asleep,[84] she saw how a [multiple-] armed celestial being[85] gave a lotus flower to her which caused her to become pregnant. After a while, she again dreamt of a foreign monk,[86] calling himself Pŏpchang,[87] who gave her ten protective injunctions to educate the embryo.

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82 *Nantŭk* 得難 is another name for *yuktup'um* 六頭品 "head-rank six", the highest social rank below the royal nobilities. In the Late Silla, the bone-rank system became saturated with "true-bone" rank members, which necessitated a selective process of degradation.

83 King Wen 文王 of Zhao 趙 was skilled in swordsmanship. Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn probably refers to the section "Delight in the Sword-fight" (說劍) of the *Zhuangzi*, which states that "Formerly, King Wen of Zhao delighted in the sword-fight. More than three thousand men,masters of the weapon, appeared as his guests." 昔趙文王喜劍, 劍士夾門而客三千餘人.

84 The expression *hunjiao* 魂交 occurs in the *Zhuangzi*'s chapter, "The Equalization of Things" 齊物論, "When we sleep, the soul communicates with (what is external to us); when we awake, the body is set free." 其寐也魂交 其覺也形開.

85 The celestial being with multiple arms refers to a Dharma-protecting deity (護法天) with three heads and six arms. See the *Zutangji* 祖堂集 vol. 17, "Biography of National Teacher Muyŏm of Sŏngju" 聖住無染國師, "A [multiple-] armed deva gave him a lotus flower"脩臂天人垂授藕花.

86 The term *ho toin* (Ch. *hu daoren* 胡道人) refers to a "foreign", that is, to an Indian or a Central Asian- practitioner of the path, a monk.

87 Pŏpchang (Ch. Fazang 法藏, S. Dharmakara) is also the name of a bodhisattva who later became the Buddha Amitābha. The bodhisattva was originally a king who renounced his throne to become a monk and was thus given the name Dharmakara. He formulated a set of forty-eight vows in the presence of Buddha Lokeśvararāja (Ch. Shizizaiwangfo 世自在王佛) and, having practiced for several aeons, finally became the Buddha Amitabha in the Universe of Utmost Bliss (Ch. Jile shijie 極樂世界) where he saves sentient beings reborn there.

After the passing of a full year, the great master was born [in 801].

阿孩時,[方言謂兒與華无異] 行坐必掌合趺對, 至與群兒戲, 畵墁聚沙, 必模様像塔, 而不忍一日違膝下. 九歲始鼓篋, 目所覽, 口必誦, 人稱曰海東神童. 跨一星終, 有隘九流, 意入道. 先白母, 母念已前夢, 泣曰, 兪[方言許諾] 後謁父, 父悔已晚悟, 喜曰俞.

As a child [*ahae* in the local dialect is a word for "child", not different from the Chinese word *er*], whether he walked or sat, he always joined the palms of his hands and sat cross-legged [in the lotus posture] when facing [people]. When he played with children and painted on walls or collected pebbles, he always modeled them in the shape of [Buddha] images or stūpas. Yet he could not bear to be separated from his parents for a single day. At the age of nine, he began to study [classical learning]. What his eyes perceived, his mouth always repeated [from memory]. People praised him as "Haedong's divine child." After the stars had completed one cycle [i.e., at the age of twelve],[88] the Nine Schools of Thought[89] were [too] narrow [for his taste], so he put his intention to entering the [Buddhist] path.[90] First he told his mother. His mother remembered the dreams she previously had and cried, saying, "I give [you] permission." Then he addressed his father. His father regretted it, but having realized that it was [too] late [to dissuade him], rejoiced and said, "I give [you] permission."

遂零染, 雪山五色石寺. 口精嘗藥, 力鋭補天. 有法性禪師, 嘗扣駿伽門于中夏者.

88 His twelfth birthday [lit. after one zodiacal constellation was completed]

89 The nine schools of thought (Ch. *jiuliu* 九流) refer to the nine scholastic schools in the Han dynasty, namely, Confucianism, Daoism, Yinyang, Legalism, Nominalism, Mohism, Diplomacy, Miscellanism, and Agriculturism. These schools are listed in the *Hanshu* 漢書, Yiwenzhi Chapter [Treatise on the Arts and Literature] 藝文志, as "孔子既沒 諸弟子各編 成一家之言 凡爲九 一曰儒家流 二曰道家流 三曰陰陽家流 四曰法家流 五曰名家流 六曰墨家流 七曰縱横家流 八曰雜家流 九曰農家流."

90 I.e., to become a Buddhist monk.

大師師事數季, 撢索無孑遺. 性歎曰, "迅足駸駸, 後發前至, 吾於子驗之. 吾恢矣, 無餘勇可賈於子矣, 如子者, 宜西也." 大師曰, "惟." 夜繩易惑, 空縷難分. 魚非緣木可求, 兎非守株可待. 故師所敎, 己所悟, 互有所長. 苟珠火斯來, 則蜣蟧可弃, 凡志於道者, 何常師之有.

Thereupon he took the tonsure and donned the dyed [moanstic] robe at Osaek-sŏk-sa on Sŏl-san.[91] His mouth tasted the essence of [herbs to see if they could be used as] medicine,[92] and his sharp [intellectual] power intellect amended heaven.[93] There was a certain Sŏn Master Pŏpsŏng who previously had studied [the teachings of] the *Laṅkāvatāra*[-*sūtra*] in China.[94] The Great Master [Muyŏm] took him as his teacher and for several years he exacted from him [all his knowledge] without omitting the slightest bit [he had to offer]. [Pŏp]sŏng admiringly said, "If one gallops with rapid feet, one arrives first despite having departed later. I have [just] experienced that from you. I think indeed that there is nothing left that I can give [i.e., teach] you. For someone like you it is appropriate [to go] West [i.e., to China]." The Great Master [Muyŏm] said: "Yes." A rope in the night is easily confused [for a snake]. A thread in thin air hardly discerned.[95] A fish is not caught

91 Sŏl-san, lit. "Snow Mountain" is an allusion to the Himalayas where the Buddha Śākyamuni has been traditionally said to have cultivated Sŏn.

92 Tasting the essence of [herbs to see if they could be used] is an expression occurring in the story of the Divine Husbandman (Ch. Shennongshi 神農氏) who tasted all Chinese herbs to find out about their essence as medicine or poison.

93 This sentence is a metaphor for the deep understanding of the sūtras he studied.

94 The teachings of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (Ch. *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經) refers to the early teachings of Chan. The sūtra is associated with Bodhidharma 菩提達磨 and his disciple Huike 慧可. It was not until Huineng 慧能 that Chan scriptural associations shifted to the Diamond Sūtra (*Jingang jing* 金剛經. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was instrumental in the formation of the Tathāgatagarbha or Buddha-nature concept so central to Chan.

95 A "rope in the night easily confused [for a snake]" is a reference to the Hīnayāna teachings, while a "thread in thin air is difficult to discern" refers to the Mahāyāna teachings which are difficult to understand because of their profoundity and loftiness.

by [climbing up] a tree.[96] A hare is not caught by guarding a tree trunk.[97] Therefore, what the master [i.e., Pŏpsŏng] taught and what [Muyŏm] realized both have their merits. If one [has obtained] a pearl or a fire, then the oyster or flintstone can be abandoned.[98] In general, for those determined to follow the [Buddhist] path, how can there be [only one single] perpetual teacher?"

尋逡去, 問驃訶健拏于浮石山釋燈大德, 日敵三十夫, 藍茜沮本色. 顧坳盃之譬曰, "東面而望, 不見西墻, 彼岸不遙, 何必懷土." 遽出山並海, 覘西泛之緣. 會國使歸瑞節象魏, 下佉足而西, 及大洋中, 風濤欻顚怒巨艑壞人不可復振. 大師與心友道亮, 跨隻板, 恣業風. 通星半月餘, 飄至劒山島. 膝行之碕上, 悵然甚久曰, "魚腹中幸得脫身, 龍頷下庶幾攙手, 我心匪石, 其退轉乎."

[Thus Muyŏm] went on a journey. He studied the *Gaṇḍavyūha* [sūtra][99] from the great virtuous [monk] Sŏktŭng[100] on Pusŏk-san. [What he achieved] in a day matched [the share of] thirty men. The indigo blue and the madder red had lost their original color.[101] Looking back at the metaphor of the cup [of water poured in] a hollow in the ground,[102] [Muyŏm] said, "If I

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96 An expression occurring in *Mengzi* 孟子, King Hui of Liang Chapter 梁惠王.

97 An expression occurring in *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, Five Pests Chapter 五蠹.

98 Since Muyŏm has learned everything that Pŏpsŏng could possibly teach him, there was no further reason for him to remain there.

99 The *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*, in the stele transliterated as Piaohejianna (Kr. P'yogagŏnna 驃訶健拏, is an abbreviation of *Magabibullyakbal'tagŏnnap'yogasudara* 摩訶毘佛略勃陀健拏驃訶修多羅, or in Sankrit, *Mahāvaipulya buddha-gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*).

100 Sŏktŭng 釋登 is alternatively written 釋登 in the *Chōsen kinseki sōran* 朝鮮金石總覽 and 釋澄 in the *Ch'oe Ko-un munjip* 崔孤雲文集. The correct version is 釋登.

101 The indigo blue and the madder red being bluer and redder respectively, than the plant from which they are extracted, is a metaphor for a disciple surpassing his teacher. It occurs in the *Huinanzi* 淮南子: "青出於藍而青於藍 絳生於茜而絳於茜 喻弟子過於師也."

102 This metaphor occurs in the *Zhuangzi*, Xiaoyaoyu Chapter (Free and Easy Wandering) 逍遙遊: "And moreover, (to speak of) the accumulation of water; if it be not great, it will not have strength to support a large boat. Upset a cup of water in a cavity, and a straw will float on it as if it were a boat. Place a cup in it, and it will stick fast; the water is shallow and the boat is large." 覆盃水於坳堂之上

look at the eastern side, I will not see the western wall. As the other shore [i.e., China] is not distant, why should I yearn for my native soil?"[103] He swiftly left [Pusŏk-]san and [reached the] sea[shore], seeking out an opportunity to sail west [i.e., to China]. He met a state envoy with the auspicious tally[104] returning to [i.e., heading for] the imperial palace [in Chang'an],[105] whom he joined to travel west. As they reached the middle of the ocean, suddenly a furious tempest arose and turned the great ship upside down. The travellers were not able to turn [the ship] upright again. The great master and his kind-hearted friend [the monk] Toryang straddled a single wooden plank and were subject to the wind of karma. For over half a month they drifted until they reached Jianshan Island.[106] They crawled to the top of the promontory and were disappointed for very long time. [Then the master] said, "Fortunately we escaped [the fate of ending] in a fish stomach. On several occasions we [almost] had our hands torn apart in the jaws of [sea] dragons. My mind is not stone; it can not be rolled back."[107]

則芥爲之舟 置杯焉 膠水淺而舟大也." The implication here is that, unless favorable conditions are met, it is difficult to realize one's ambitions. In other words, this is used to indicate Muyŏm's plan to journey to China.

103 The other shore is a reference for China. "Yearning for one's native place" (*huaitu* 懷土) occurs in the *Lunyu* 論語 Liren Chapter 里仁, and is described as the attribute of the inferior person: "The superior man thinks of virtue; the small man thinks of comfort. 君子懷德 小人懷土."

104 A Silla envoy sent to Tang China to congratulate emperor Muzong 穆宗 (r. 821–824) on his birthday) brought back an auspicious tally 瑞節 (refers to a tally made of jade). The auspicious tally was granted by the emperor to those whom he enfeoffed as feudal lords as a token of confidence. When the feudal lords were directly received in audience by the emperor, or through their envoys, the tally always had to be brought with them.

105 The term translated as imperial palace is *xiangwei* 象魏, literally meaning "palace gate" since imperial edicts where suspended there. See the explanation in *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, vol. 26, entry for the third year of Aigong 哀公, "李桓子 至御公立于象魏(象魏門闕)之外 命救火者 傷人則止 財可爲也 命藏象魏(周禮正月 縣法象魏 使萬民觀之故 謂其書爲象魏)曰 舊章不可亡也."

106 Jianshan-dao 劒山島 refers to Heishan-dao 黑山島, an island whose shape is similar to that of a sword, hence its name.

107 This expression is a quote from the *Book of Poetry*, Odes Of Bei (邶風): "My mind is not a stone;

洎長慶初, 朝正王子昕, 艤舟唐恩浦. 請寓載, 許焉. 旣達之罘山麓, 顧先難後易, 土揖海若曰, "珍重鯨波, 好戰風魔." 行至大興城南山至相寺, 遇說雜花者, 猶在浮石. 時有一黳顔耆年, 言提之曰, "遠欲取諸物, 孰與認而佛." 大師舌底, 大悟. 自是, 置翰墨, 遊歷佛光寺, 問道如滿. 滿佩江西印, 爲香山白尙書樂天, 空門友者, 而應對有慙色曰, "吾閱人多矣, 罕有如是新羅子, 他日中國失禪, 將問之東夷耶."

At the beginning of the Changqing era [821], Court Envoy[108] prince [Kim] Hŭn[109] moored his ship at the inlet of Tang'ŭn [Tang'en].[110] [Muyŏm] requested to be taken on board, and his request was granted. Then as they reached the foot of Zhifu-shan,[111] looking back at his initial hardship and

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It cannot be rolled about." 我心匪石、不可轉也. Here it indicates Muyŏm's determination not to desist from his determination to pursue his journey in China.

108 A Court Envoy (*chaozheng* 朝正) was sent from Silla to Tang China in order to congratulate the Emperor on the occasion of the lunar new year.

109 Kim Hŭn 金昕 (801–847) was not really a prince. At that time, among the "envoy sent to pay tribute to the imperial court " (Kr. *chogongsa*, Ch. *chaogongshi* 朝貢使) or the "palace guard students" (*sukwui haksaeng* 宿衛學生, i.e., the students sent by the Silla government to study at the imperial academy in China), there were quite a few individuals designated as "princes" (王子) who actually were not. Kim Hŭn was the first cousin of Kim Yang 金陽 and the ninth-generation descendant of King Muyŏl. In 822, the second year of the Changjing 長慶 era, he journeyed to Tang China as "chogongsa" and subsequently studied there as a *sukwui haksaeng*. After his return to Silla, he was appointed as prefect (*t'aesu* 泰守) of Namwŏn 南原 and as head governor (taedodok 大都督) of Kangju 康州. Finally, he obtained the rank of yich'an 伊飡 and was nominated to the auxiliary post of Counselor-in-chief (*sangguk* 相國). In 839, the fourth year of the Kaicheng 開城 era, he became general-in-chief (*daechanggun* 大將軍). However, he was defeated when defending Taegu against an army coming from the Ch'ŏnghae Fortress 淸海鎭 and as a result, resigned and retired to Sobaek-san 小白山 where died at the age of forty-seven in 849, the third year of Dazhong 大中 era. (See *Samguk Sagi* vol. 44, Kim Yang chŏn (Biography of Kim Yang, supplement) 金陽傳 附; Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Silla hadae ŭi wangwui kyesŭng kwa chŏngch'i kwajŏng", p. 159).

110 The Inlet of Tang'ŭn (Tang'ŭn-p'o 唐恩浦) was located in Hwasŏng, Kyŏnggi Province. *Samguk Sagi* vol. 35, Treatise on Geography 2, "Tang'ŭn Commandery was originally Tangsŏng Commandery. King Kyŏngdŏk changed its name, but now it has been returned to its old name" 唐恩郡 本高句麗唐城郡 景德王改名 今復故.

111 Zhifu-shan 之罘山 was located in the north-east part of Fushan County 福山縣, Shandong Province 山東省. Zhifu-shan 芝罘山 was commonly known as Zhifu-dao.

later ease, he bowed to the ground to the god of the sea[112] and said, "We took good care of ourselves amidst raging waves and fought well against the wind demons." [Then] he went to Zhixiang-si on Nan-shan, near the city of Daxing.[113] [There] he met someone who explained the *Zahua*[*-jing*. i.e., the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*]. It was like being at Pusŏk[-sa]. At that time, a black-faced old man spoke to him, saying, "If you want to grasp at all things from afar, with what understanding can you become a Buddha?" As soon as these words ended, the great master greatly awakened. From then on, he put down ink and brush and traveled around [until he reached] Foguang-si[114] where he inquired about the path from [the monk] Ruman. Ruman wore the [mind-] seal [he had obtained] from Jiangxi [i.e., Mazu Daoyi][115] and was a friend of [Layman] Xiangshan, the Minister Bai [Ju-yi] Letian,[116] who himself was a friend of the gate of emptiness [i.e., Buddhism]. Then, while meeting and talking, [Ruman] said with a sign of embarrassment, "I have seen many people. But rarely have I [met] someone like this scion from Silla. If in a future day Chan happens to disappear from China, one will have to inquire about it from the Eastern Barbarians."[117]

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112 The god of the sea (Hairuo 海若) belongs to the same category as Hebo 河伯 (the [Yellow] River god), or Yongyi 永夷. See *Fanci* 梵辭, Yuanyou (Distant travels) 遠遊, "使湘靈鼓瑟兮 今海若舞馮夷."

113 Zhixiang-si 至相寺 was located on the Zhongnan Mountains outside of Chang'an and was a renowned center of the Huayan school, where its second patriarch, Zhiyan 智儼 (600–668) resided.

114 Foguang-si 佛光寺 was a monastery in Luoyang 洛陽, referred to in the *Zutangji* 祖堂集 (fasc. 17) as Foshuang-si 佛爽寺.

115 Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 is often referred to as "Jiangxi", where he was active after having obtained the mind-seal from Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓.

116 Minister Bai Letian 白尚書樂天 refers to the mid-Tang poet Bai Ju-yi 白居易(772–846). His courtesy name 字 was Letian, his style 號 Householder Xiangshan 香山居士. He is referred to as minister Bai because he headed the Ministry of Justice 刑部. Among his representative works are the "Changhen ge" [Song of Everlasting Sorrow] 長恨歌 and the "Pipa xing" [Lute Air] 琵琶行. (See *Baishi Changqing ji* 白氏長慶集 in 50 vols.)

117 Dongyi 東夷, literally: "Eastern 'Barbarians' " was a collective term for people in eastern China and in lands located to the east of ancient China. The people on the Korean peninsula were commonly referred to as Dongyi.

> 去謁麻谷寶澈和尙. 服勤無所擇, 人所難, 己心易, 衆目曰, "禪門庾異行." 澈公賢苦節, 嘗一日告之曰, "昔吾師馬和尙, 訣我曰, '春蘤繁, 秋實寡, 攀道樹者所悲吒, 今授若印, 異日徒中, 有奇功可封者, 封之無使刓.' 復云, '東流之說, 盖出鉤讖, 則彼日出處, 善男子根殆熟矣, 若若 得東人, 可目語者, 畎道之, 俾恵水, 丕冒於海隅, 爲德非淺.' 師言在耳, 吾喜若徠. 今印焉, 俾冠禪侯于東土, 往欽哉. 則我當年, 作江西大兒, 後世爲海東大父, 其無慙先師矣乎." 亙無何, □師化去. 墨巾離首, 乃曰, "筏旣捨矣, 舟何繫焉."

[Muyŏm] left and visited the master Magu Baoche.[118] [Under Magu's supervision Muyŏm] practised diligently without discriminating [likes and dislikes]. What others considered difficult, he always considered easy. The monks looked at him and said, "His extraordinary practice makes him the Yu Qianlou of the Chan school."[119] Master Baoche viewed the austere practice [of Muyŏm] as praiseworthy. Once, one day, he told him, saying: "Formerly, when I took leave from my teacher, Master Ma[zu], he said to me, 'If the blossoms in the spring are numerous, the fruits in autumn will be few. This is what those climbing the bodhi-tree[120] lament about. Now I bestow the [mind] seal on you.[121] If one day, there is, among your disciples,

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118 Magu Baoche 麻谷寶澈 was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi. His name is derived from the fact that he resided in Magu-si 麻谷寺 in Xiaozhou 蕭州. See *Zutangji* 祖堂集 vol. 15.

119 Yu Qianlou 庾黔婁 was known as an exemplar of the utmost filial piety. According to the *Liangshu* 梁書 (vol. 47), Yu Qianlou lived in the Southern Qi dynasty (南齊, 479–502) and was sent as a magistrate to Chanling in Hubei province. He had been in the district less than ten days when suddenly his heart was alarmed and he perspired. Immediately he gave up his office and returned, to find his father had been sick for two days. The doctor said: "To know whether a sickness is improving or very serious, one must taste the [patient's] feces. If they are bitter, then there is hope." Yu Qianlou tasted them, and they were sweet. His heart was very anxious. When night came, he kowtowed to the North Star [of longevity], beseeching it to let him die in his father's place. His father fully recovered because Heaven was moved by Yu Qianlou's sincere practice of utmost filial piety.

120 The bodhi-tree (lit. "tree of the path" Ch. *daoshu* 道樹) refers to the tree under which Śākyamuni achieved awakening and became a buddha. The term is also used as a synonym of Buddhism with its powers of growth and fruitfulness.

121 I.e., the mind-seal of the patriarchs of Chan (祖師心印).

someone of outstanding achievement worthy of being given [the mind-seal], you should confer it on that person so that there is no interruption [in the lineage of Chan].' Again he said, 'The theory of the eastward flow of [the transmission of the Dharma][122] originates from the prediction[123] that in the place where the sun rises [i.e., Silla in the east] the spiritual faculties of the sons of good family are almost matured. If there is a person [coming] from

122 In general, the eastward flow refers to the transmission of Buddhism from India to China. Here, it refers to the transmission of Chan from China to Korea. According to Huineng's biography in the the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, Huineng made two predictions before passing away. The first one was that five or six years after his death, someone whose name includes the character man 満 would steal his skull. The second one was that seventy years later two bodhisattvas from the east would come to inherit his Dharma-lineage. Concerning the first prediction, in 722, Kim Tae-bi 金大悲 who had traveled to Tang China to study, paid two thousand taels (liang 兩) to Zhang Jingman 張淨満 at Kaiyuan-si 開元寺 in Hongzhou 洪州 to steal the skull of Huineng enshrined at his stūpa in Caoxi-si, which Kim Tae-bi brought back with him to Silla and enshrined it in the "Stūpa of the Sixth Patriarch's Vertex" 六祖頂上塔 at Ssanggye-sa. (See *Zutangji* 祖堂集 vol. 18, Entry on Yangshan 仰山). The second prediction was fulfilled when Muyŏm and Pŏmil inherited Huineng's lineage approximately around 850.

123 The term "hook-prediction" (*gouchan* 鉤讖) is a synonym for *xuanji* 懸記 or *chanji* 讖記, both meaning "prediction." The term *gouchan* (Kr., *kuch'am*) in the context of Silla refers to the theory according to which the Treasury of the Eye of the True Law (*zhengfa yanzang* 正法眼藏) that Buddha Śākyamuni had entrusted to Mahākaśyapa and had been passed down to Bodhidharma (the twenty-eight Indian patriarch) and further to the Sixth Patriarch Huineng in China, finally was brought to Silla, which was intepreted as the restoration of Śākyamuni's True Dharma [in the world]. Specifically in this inscription, the "hook-prediction" interprets the role and function of Muyŏm in the eastward transmission of the Dharma from the viewpoint of Silla's school of Sŏn, by relying on the authority of Mazu Daoyi as the founder of Patriarchal Sŏn 祖師禪. The strategy of explaining the Eastward Transmission of the Dharma by means of the "hook-prediction" as a legacy of Mazu Daoyi preserved through Magu Baoche is similar to the account in the *Donglinzhuan* 東林傳 which realtes how a gatha by Prajñādhara predicts the origin of Mazu's lineage's Dharma lineage. The "hook-prediction" about the Eastward transmission of the Dharma in this stele reflects the viewpoint of Silla's Sŏn school about Sŏn centered on the figure of Muyŏm. The various gathas of prediction (*chanjie* 讖偈) occurring in the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 function to legitimize the Dharma-transmission through Mazu Daoyi and provide the basis for "hook-prediction" and the Eastward spread of the Dharma. (See Chŏng Sŏng-bon 鄭性本, "Silla Sŏnjong kwa kuch'amsŏl" 新羅 禪宗과 鉤讖說, in *Sŏksan Han Chong-man paksa hwagap kinyŏm Hanguk sasangsa* 釋山韓鍾萬博士華甲紀念 韓國思想史, 1991).

the east [i.e., Silla] with whom you can speak [merely] with the eyes [without using spoken words] and you let the path flow to him [i.e., give him the Dharma transmission], so that the water of wisdom greatly covers the corner of the ocean [i.e., Silla], then your merit shall by no means be shallow.' [My] master's words are still in my ears. I rejoice that you came. Now I bestow on you the [mind-] seal and make you the crown of the Chan virtuosi in the Eastern Land [i.e., Silla]. Go [back] and be venerated [as a Sŏn master]. If [that is the case], I who have been the eldest son of Jiangxi [i.e., Mazu Daoyi] for all these years, shall, in future generations, be regarded as the grandfather [of Chan] in the Country East of the Sea [i.e., Korea] and be without shame in regard to my former teacher." Soon afterwards, the master [i.e., Baoche] passed away. [Muyŏm] removed the black turban from his head and said: "The raft having already been abandoned, where can the boat be moored?"

自爾浪遊, 飄飄然, 勢不可遏, 志不可奪. 於渡汾水, 登崞山, 跡之古必尋, 僧之眞必詣. 凡所止舍, 遠人煙火, 要在安其危, 甘其苦. 役四體爲奴虜, 奉一心爲君主. 就是中, 顓以視篤癃, 恤孤獨, 爲己任. 至祁寒酷暑, 且煩暍, 或皸瘃侵,曾無勸容, 耳名者, 不覺遙禮, 嚚作東方大菩薩. 其三十餘年行事也, 其如是.

Henceforth he traveled around, whirling like the wind, his vigor unstoppable, his determination impregnable. He crossed over the Fenshui[124] [River] and climbed the Guo-Mountains,[125] always seeking ancient traces[126] and always visiting genuine monks. Wherever he stopped, he housed far off from human dwelling places. The important thing to him was to be calm when facing danger and to endure hardships with acceptance. He treated his four limbs [i.e., his body] like slaves, but he served the One Mind like the king. In the midst of this, he carefully looked after the seriously sick and viewed taking care of orphaned children and the lonely elderly as his

124 Fenshui 汾水 is a river in Shanxi Province and a confluent to the Yellow River (Huanghe 黄河).

125 Guoshan (崞山) are two mountains located in Shanxi Province.

126 Ancient traces refer to historic Buddhist sites of pilgrimages, such as mountains or monasteries.

own duty. Even when plagued by cracks and sores from cold in the harsh winters or afflicted by sunstrokes in scorching summers, his countenance never betrayed signs of weariness. Those hearing his name spontaneously expressed their respect from a distance and loudly praised him as the "Great Bodhisattva of the East." His conduct and feats for over thirty years were just like that.

會昌五年來歸, 帝命也. 國人相慶曰, 連城壁復還, 天實爲之,地有幸也. 自是, 請益者, 所至稻麻矣. 入王城, 省母社, 大歡喜曰,"顧吾疇昔夢, 乃非優曇之一顯耶. 願度來世, 吾不復撓倚門之念也." 已矣.

In the fifth year of the Huichang era [845], he returned [to Silla] on imperial order.[127] In the country [of Silla], the people celebrated together, saying, "The invaluable jade disk of multiple cities[128] has returned. This is a

127 Huichang refers to the reign of Tang Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (841–846), during which the so-called Huichang abolition of Buddhism was implemented. In 845, the Daoist priest Zhao Guichen 趙歸眞 convinced Wuzong that the financial crisis of the Tang empire had been caused by Buddhism. Subsequently, a severe repression of both Buddhism and Confucianism was carried out, causing the destruction of over forty thousand Buddhist monasteries and the defrocking of two-hundred sixty thousand monks and nuns. Meanwhile foreign monks were ordered by imperial decree to return to their home countries.

128 The term translated as "invaluable jade disk of multiple cities" is *lianchengbi* 連城璧. It is also known as *He shi Bi. Bi* is a round flat piece of jade with a hole in it which plays an important part in many historical stories in Ancient China. The piece of jade was discovered as a piece of stone in the hills of Chu by a man named Bian He 卞和, who was so excited about his discovery that he hastened to show it to the ruler, King Li of Chu 楚; yet, King Li did not believe that the stone contained valuable jade, and had the man's left leg cut off for deceiving the ruler. When King Li died, the throne was then passed on to King Wu, and Bian He presented the stone again; King Wu, again, did not believe the man, and had his right leg amputated as well. Only when the next King, King Wen of Chu, ascended the throne, did he believe Bian He and have his sculptors work on the stone; to their astonishment they found a piece of incomparable white jade, which was made into a jade disk that was named in honour of its discoverer (*He shi bi* literally means "the jade disk of Bian He"). The jade disk was stolen from Chu and eventually sold to Zhao 趙; in 283 BCE, King Zhaoxiang of Qin offered fifteen cities to Zhao in exchange for the jade (this is the origin of the term "jade disk [valued at] multiple cities"). The Zhao Minister Lin Xiangru was dispatched to send the jade to Qin;

reward from Heaven and the favor of the Earth." Henceforth, wherever he went, those requesting for further instruction were as numerous as rice and hemp. He entered the capital city [of Kyŏngju] and visited his mother who greatly rejoiced, saying, "Looking back, was my former dream not about the sole [rare] appearance of the udumbara [flower]?[129] I wish to be saved in my next life and I will not bother you with my thoughts of awaiting you at the door."[130] That was all [she said].

> 迺北行, 擬目選終焉之所. 會王子昕, 懸車爲山中宰相, 邂逅適願, 謂曰, "師與吾俱祖龍樹乙粲, 則師內外爲龍樹令孫, 眞瞠若不可及者. 而滄海外躡蕭湘故事, 則親舊緣, 固不淺. 有一寺, 在熊川州坤隅, 是吾祖臨海公[祖諱仁問唐觭伐濊貊功封爲臨海郡公], 受封之所. 間刦燼流菑, 金田半灰, 匪慈哲, 孰能興滅繼絶, 可强爲朽夫住持乎." 大師答曰, 有緣則住.

Thereupon he headed north to look out for a place to end [his days]. He met Prince Kim Hŭn who had retired from government office[131] and

but when it became clear that Qin would not uphold its side of the bargain, he threatened to smash the jade and subsequently stole back to Zhao with the jade intact. This gave birth to another Chinese idiom, "*wanbi gui Zhao*"完璧歸趙, literally meaning "Returning the jade disk intact to Zhao", but extended to mean "returning something to its rightful owner." In 221 BCE, Qin conquered the other six Warring States and founded the Qin Dynasty; the jade disk thus fell into the hands of Qin Shi Huangdi, who ordered it made into his Imperial seal. The words, "Having received the Mandate from Heaven, may (the emperor) lead a long and prosperous life." (受命於天, 旣壽永昌) were written by Prime Minister Li Si, and carved onto the seal by Sun Shou. This seal was to be passed on even as the dynasties rose and fell, but was lost in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period. See, Bian He Chapter卞和篇 in the *Hanfeizi* 韓非子.

129 The udumbara is a legendary flower which is said to blossom only once in three thousand years. It is a a symbol of the rare appearance of a Buddha.

130 "Thoughts of waiting at the door" refers to a mother leaning on the house door longing for the return of her son, and is a metaphor for parental love. See *Zhanguoce* (Strategems of the Warring States)戰國策, Qice Chapter (The Strategems of Qi 齊策).

131 The original term used for retiring from government office is "to hang up one's carriage" (xuanche 懸車). The Biography of Xue Guangde 薛廣德 in the *Hanshu* 漢書 contains the phrase "[Xue Guangde]

[lived like] the Grand Councilor in the Mountains.[132] They met by chance and their aspirations were [mutually] compatible. [Kim Hŭn] said: "You and I both have the Ŭlch'an Yongsu [i.e., Yongch'un] as ancestor.[133] And you are on both the domestic and foreign side the grandson of Yongsu.[134] This is truly something to stare at with protuberant eyes and is almost impossible. However, as I have journeyed beyond the blue sea [to China], [our encounter reminds me of] the tale of the [confluence of the] Xiao and Xiang Rivers.[135] Thus our connection as friends is definitely not superficial. There is a monastery located southwest of Ungch'ŏn Prefecture.[136] It is the place my ancestor the Duke of Imhae [i.e., his ancestor Kim In-mun] received as a fief.[137] (His ancestor's posthumous title was In-mun. As a reward for

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renounced [the use of] his comfortable carriage, transferring it [for later use] to his sons and grandsons" 縣其安車傳子孫.

132 A grand councilor [secluded] in the mountains refers to a worthy scholar (賢士) living secluded in the mountains yet providing counsel on state affairs when requested to. According to the *Liangshu* 梁書 and *Nanshi* 南史 "Biography of Tao Hongjing" (Tao Hongjing zhuan 陶弘景傳), Tao Hongjing in the Liang dynasty lived secluded on Juqu-shan 句曲山 and, since he repeatedly declined imperial invitations to come to court, the Liang Emperor Wu himself went to seek his advice whenever there was a national crisis. Thus Tao Hongjing was referred to as the "grand councilor in the mountains."

133 Yongsu is a reference to Yongch'un 龍春, the son of Silla King Chinji 眞智 (r. 576–579). *Ŭlch'an* refers to the rank of *yich'an* 伊飡. Since his father, King Chinji, was deposed after only four years, Yongch'un was not able to succeed to the throne and remained a holder of the rank of yich'an. Only posthumously was he conferred the title of King Munhŭng 文興大王 for his meritorious contributions.

134 Muyŏm is at the same time the tenth generation descendant of Yongsu when referring to Yongch'un and in terms of Dharma-lineage succession, a descendant of Yongsu, this last referring to being a lineage heir of Nāgārjuna (ca. 150–250 CE), the founder of the Mādhyamaka school of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

135 The tale of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers (*Xiaoxiang gushi* 蕭湘故事) refers to an accidental meeting that occurred while sightseeing these two rivers. The landscape surrounding both rivers is so exquisite that it is referred to as the *Eight Views of Xiaoxiang* (*Xiao Xiang bajing* 蕭湘八景).

136 Ŭngch'ŏn 熊川 corresponds to modern-day Kongju 公州. See *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記, Treatise on Geography 地理志 下).

137 Duke of Imhae 臨海公 is the title conferred to the second son of King T'aejong Muyŏl 太宗武烈,

his merit of having led an expedition against the Yemaek, the Tang had enfeoffed him as Duke of Imhae District.) In the meantime, it was plundered and burnt to ashes, the land slid, and half of the monastery was reduced to ashes.[138] If not a compassionate and wise [person], who can cause what has been wiped out to flourish again, and continue what has been disrupted? Please assume the abbotship, even if it comes as a burden to you, for the sake this decrepit old man [that I am]." The great master said, "If there is karmic affinity, I shall reside [there]."

大中初始就居, 且肹飭之, 俄而道大行, 寺大成. 繇是四遠問津輩, 視千里猶跬步, 其殿不億, 寔繁有徒. 大師, 猶鍾待扣而鏡忘罷, 至者, 靡不以慧炤導其目, 法喜娛其腹, 誘憧憧之躅, 變蚩蚩之俗.

In the beginning of the Dazhong era [847–859],[139] he then went to dwell [there]. Furthermore he restored [the monastery] on a large scale and soon the path was greatly promoted and the monastery was fully completed. Because of this, crowds of people came from the four distant quarters to ask for instruction.[140] They viewed a [journey of a] thousand *li* as [merely]

Kim In-mun 金仁問. For his role in forging the diplomatic alliance between Silla and the Tang empire, which ultimately allowed Silla to unify the Korean peninsula, Kim In-mun was given the rank of t'ae taegakkan 太大角干. Later, when war between Silla and Tang broke out, he ascended the throne instead of King Munmu, but this was nullified not long afterwards when Silla apologized to the Tang. According to the *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 vol. 1, entry on T'aejong Ch'unch'ugong 太宗春秋公, he died after his return to Silla.

138 The term translated as reduced to ashes (*jiejin* 劫燼) refers to the kalpa of destruction (*huaijie* 壞劫) whose first stage corresponds to the calamity of fire. The second stage consists of destruction by the calamity of water, hence the expression "flowing calamities" 流). The term for monastery used here (*jintian* 金田), lit. "golden field", refers to the Jetavana park near Śrāvastī, which Anāthapiṇḍika had obtained from Prince Jeta for the prince of gold covering the entire compound, on which the famous vihāra of the same name was build and donated to Śākyamuni.

139 The Dazhong era refers to the reign of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (847–859). The first year of this reign approximately corresponds to the ninth year of Silla king Munsŏng's reign.

140 The term translated as "to ask for instruction" (Ch. *wenjin* 問津) occurs in the *Lunyu* and literally means "to inquire for the ford."

amounting to half a step. Their number was unfathomable and there indeed were many disciples. The Great Master was just like a bell waiting to be struck[141] and like a mirror oblivious of getting tired at reflecting [everything].[142] Among those who came [to see him], [without exception] there were none whose eyes he did not open by the torch of wisdom, whose bellies he did not satisfy with the joy of the Dharma. He led those who were hesitating irresolutely, and he changed the ignorant customs.

文聖大王, 聆其運爲, 莫非裨王化, 甚恕之. 飛手教, 優勞且多,大師答山相之四言, 易寺牓爲聖住, 仍編錄大興輪寺. 大師醻使者曰,"寺以聖住爲名, 招提固所爲榮, 至寵. 膚僧濫吹高藉,寔避風斯媿而隱霧, 可慙矣."

The Great King Munsŏng heard about his activities. As they all helped the [beneficial] influence of king [on the people], he very much considered him as a model example and swiftly sent him a hand-written missive very much appreciating his excellent hard work. Based on the four words that the great master had used in reply to the [Grand] Councilor in the Mountains [i.e., Kim Hŭn], he [i.e., the king] changed the monastery's tablet[143] to Sŏngju[-sa] [i.e., "abode of the saint"], and registered the [monastery under the jurisdiction of] Taehŭngnyun-sa. The Great Master replied to the [king's] envoy, saying, "That the monastery has been named 'Sŏngju' definitely is an honor for the four quarters [i.e., the Buddhist community], and is the utmost

141 Muyŏm was like a monastery bell which emits a loud sound if struck hard and a small sound when struck moderately. The reference for this expression occurs in the *Liji* 禮記, Xueji Chapter 學記 "The master who skilfully waits to be questioned, may be compared to a bell when it is struck. Struck with a small hammer, it gives a small sound. Struck with a great one, it gives a great sound. But let it be struck leisurely and properly, and it gives out all the sounds of which it is capable." "善待問者如撞撞 叩之以小者則小鳴 叩之以大者則大鳴."

142 His being like a mirror reflecting the myriad of things just as they appear is a reference to his teaching the Dharma according to the capacity of whoever is requesting him for instruction.

143 The tablet refers to the name-plaque on which the the monastery's name was inscribed. Here it was changed from Ohap-sa 烏合寺 to Sŏngju-sa 聖住寺.

favor.[144] For a shallow monk [that I am], to be [undeservedly] placed on a high cushion, is indeed comparable to [a bird] avoiding the wind, and being hidden in the fog is something to be ashamed of."

時, 憲安大王, 與檀越季舒發韓魏昕, 爲南北相[各居其官猶左右相]. 遙展攝齋禮, 贄以茗馞, 使無虛月, 至使名霧東國, 士流,不識大師門, 爲一世羞. 得禮足者, 退必啨曰,"面謁倍百乎耳聞, 口未出而心已入." 抑有猴虎而冠者, 亦熄其趮譁, 其虩而傹犇馳善道.

At that time, the Great King Hŏn'an[145] and his younger brother, the donor[146] and sŏparhan[147] Wi Hŭn[148] became the grand councilors of north

144 The term occurring here is *zhaodi* 招提, an abbreviation of *zhaodoudishe* 招鬪提舍, which is a transliteration of Sanskrit *caturdiśa*, meaning the four directions of space, which is a reference to the Buddhist community (saṃgha) or a Buddhist monastery.

145 King Hŏn'an 憲安 (r. 857–860) was Silla's forty-seventh king, his taboo name 諱 was Ŭijong 誼靖 or Ujŏng 祐靖. The king who preceded him, Munsŏng 文聖, was his uncle (his father's younger brother) and King Sinmu 神武 was his brother from a different mother. Hŏn'an was enthroned by decree of the dying king Munsŏng, but abdicated after only five years because of a fatal illness in favor of his son-in-law Ŭngyŏm 膺廉 who acceeded to the throne as King Kyŏngmun 景文. See *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 vol. 11, Basic Annals of Silla (Silla pongi 新羅本紀) 11, entry on King Hŏn'an 憲安王.

146 Tanwŏl (Ch. tanyue 檀越, S. dānapati). Here this refers to Kim Hŭn, the paternal uncle of Kim Yang (See *Samguk Sagi* vol. 44, Biographies of the Virtuous (*yŏljŏn* 烈傳) 4, "Biography of Kim Yang, supplement Kim Hŭn" 金陽傳 附 金忻).

147 *Sŏbarhan* 舒發韓, or alternatively *ibŏlch'an* 伊伐飡, is the highest of Silla's seventeen ranks. It originated from *chuda* 酒多 and is alternatively given as *kakkan* 角干, *ibŏlch'an* 伊伐飡, *ubŏlch'an* 于伐飡, *kakch'an* 角粲, *sŏbŏlgam* 舒伐邯.

148 Wi Hŭn 魏昕 is the courtesy name (*zi* 字) for Kim Yang 金陽 (808–857). He was the ninth generation descendant of King Muyŏl, his great-grandfather was Chuwŏn 周元, his grandfather was Chonggi 宗基, his father was Chŏngyŏ 貞茹. In 828, the third year of King Hungdŏk's reign, he was appointed governor of Kosŏng 固城 Prefecture and subsequently District Magistrate of Chungwŏn 中原, and Commander-in-chief of Muju 武州. In 836, the first year the Kaixing era, as King Hŭngdŏk died, a succession dispute arose between the king's (second) cousin Kyunjŏng 均貞 and the cousin's son Cherŭng 悌陵. Kim Yang planned to enthrone Kyunjŏng with the support of Kyunjŏng's son Ujing 祐徵 and Kyunjŏng's sister's husband (妹壻) Sŏjing 舒徵, but failed. Finally, in 839, Ujing was

and south.[149] (Each of them occupied their office, similar to the ministers of the right and left). From far away, they performed the rite of a disciple[150] and offered gifts of tea and incense. They did not omit doing this for even a single month. As his reputation spread in the Eastern Country [i.e., Silla], scholars considered not knowing the master's school [of Sŏn] as the greatest disgrace of one's lifetime. Those who had the opportunity to bow at the master's feet always sighed upon taking leave, saying, "Having an audience face-to-face is a hundred times better than [just] hearing [about him]. Before I opened my mouth, his mind already had understood me." Furthermore, those endowed with [the craftiness of] a monkey or [the fierceness of] a tiger,[151] also extinguished their impetuosity and fierceness, and quickly rushed unto the good path.

暨, 憲王嗣立, 賜書乞言, 大師荅曰, "周豐對魯公之語, 有旨哉. 著在禮經, 請銘座

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enthroned as King Sinmu, and when Sinmu's son succeeded to the throne as King Munsŏng, Kim Yang was given the rank of sop'an and appointed as Director of the Bureau of Military Personnel 兵部令 and Director of Chancellery 侍中. In 857, he died at the age of fifty and was posthumously granted the rank of sŏbarhan. (*Samguk Sagi* vol. 44, Biography of Kim Yang chŏn 金陽傳).

149 The exact nature of the post of "grand councilor of north and south" (*nambuk sang* 南北相) remains unclear. But since Kim Yang was given the rank of sop'an and appointed as Director of the Bureau of Military Personnel before advancing to the post of Director of Chancellery in the years 847–848, it is probable that King Hŏn'an had a post of identical if not of superior rank within the Directorate of Military Personnel. In the eleventh year of King Munsŏng's reign (849) the *ich'an* Ŭi Chŏng 義正 who had been promoted to extraordinary rank one (*sangdaedŭng* 上大等) is considered as identical to Hwŏnjŏng (誼靖, i.e., King Hŏn'an), so *nambuk sang* 南北相 probably refers to the two posts of *sangdaedŭng* and *sijŭng* taken together. (李基東,「新羅 下代의 王位繼承과 政治過程, Yi Ki-dong 李基東, "Silla hadae ŭi wangwi kyesŭng kwa chŏngch'i kwajŏng" p. 170–171).

150 The rite of a disciple refers to *shezai* 攝齋 (lit. "holding one's robe with both hands"), the respectful deportment of a disciple in front of his teacher, a term occurring in the *Lunyu* 論語 Xiangdang 鄉黨 Chapter, "He ascended the reception hall, holding up his robe with both his hands, and his body bent; holding in his breath also, as if he dared not breathe." 攝齋升堂鞠躬如也 屏氣似不息者.

151 The craftiness of a monkey and the fierceness of a tiger is an expression derived from the *Shiji* 史記, "Basic Annals of Xiang Yu" (*Xiang Yu benji*) 項羽本紀, "The people of Chu wash a monkey and put a cap on it" 楚人沐猴而冠耳. Literally, "capped monkeys and tigers," not true people, or crafty and fierce people.

側.” 逮贈太師先大王卽位, 欽重如, 先朝志, 而日加厚焉, 寂所施爲, 必馳問然後擧. 咸通十二年秋,飛鵠頭書, 以傳召曰, “山林何親, 城邑何踈.” 大師謂生徒曰, “遽命伯宗, 深慙遠公. 然道之將行也, 時乎不可失, 念付囑故, 吾其往矣.” 欻爾至轂下, 及見, 先大王, 冕服拜爲師. 君夫人, 世子, 旣太弟相國[追奉尊謚惠成大王], 群公子公孫, 環仰如一. 一如古伽藍, 繢壁面, 寫出西方諸國長, 侍勃陁樣式.

And when King Hŏn'an inherited the throne, he gave a letter [to Muyŏm] begging for words [of advice]. The Great Master replied, saying, "There is purpose in the words that Zhou Feng used in reply to the Duke of Lu.[152] These are written in the *Book of Rites* [*Lijing*]. Please take them as a maxim at hand." When the Great Predecessor King [Kyŏngmun], recipient [of the title of] Grand Preceptor[153] acceded to the throne, he admired and respected [Muyŏm] with the same determination as the previous courts [i.e., King Munsŏng and King Hŏn'an]. And as days went by, his [respect] deepened. Whatever action he was about to implement, he did so only after having rushed to consult [Muyŏm]. In autumn of the twelfth year of Xiantong era [871],[154] [Kyŏngmun] sent a 'swan's head letter'[155] to summon [Muyŏm], saying, "Why are you close to mountains and forests, but distant from cities and towns?" The Great Master said to his disciples, "[The marquis of Jin has] suddenly invoked Bozong.[156] [I am] deeply shamed by Venerable Huiyuan.[157]

152 Zhou Feng 周豊 was a retired scholar living in seclusion (yinshi 隱士) in the country of Lu 魯 during the reign of Ai 哀, better known as Duke of Lu (魯公). He asserted that the ruler has to be endowed with the virues of propriety and righteousness (*liyi* 禮義), loyalty and trust (*zhongxin* 忠信), and honesty and truthfulness (*chengshi* 誠實) if he wanted to gain and maintain the support of the people. (See *Liji* 禮記 Tangong Chapter 檀弓下).

153 Grand Preceptor (*taishi* 太師), see Hucker 6213. Here this refers to the posthumous title of King Kyŏngmun, the forty-eighth king of Silla and the father of Queen Chinsŏng 眞聖.

154 Xiantong 咸通 era refers to the reign of the Tang emperor Yizong 懿宗 (r. 860–873).

155 A swan's head letter (Ch. *hutoushu* 鵠頭書) refers to a royal or imperial edict written in purple ink on colored paper and sealed in an envelope upon which the head of a phoenix was pictured and tied together with a five-colored thread. Such a letter was again sealed in a yellow envelope, on which a swan was depicted, and then tied together with a colored thread.

156 This is a reference to an episode in the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan* (entry for the fifth year of Chenggong

But for the prosperity of the [Buddhist] path, [this] opportune time cannot be missed. Because I am mindful (of the Buddha's) entrusting[158] [of the Dharma], I shall go [to the king]." When he suddenly arrived in the capital and met the Great Predecessor King [Kyŏngmun], [the king wearing] crown and court dress, prostrated to him as his preceptor. The Royal Consort, the Heir Apparent, the younger brother Counselor-in-chief [159] posthumously titled Great King Hyesŏng,[160] and the sons and grandsons of high officials all surrounded him and looked up to him [with veneration]. This was just like the leaders of the Western regions [i.e., India] who are depicted as attending upon the Buddha on the wall paintings of ancient monasteries (lit. saṃghārāma).

上曰, "弟子不佞, 小好屬文. 嘗覽劉勰文心, 有語云, '滯有守無, 徒銳偏解. 欲詣眞源, 其般若之絶境.' 則境之絶者, 或可聞乎." 大師對曰, "境旣絶矣, 理無矣, 斯印也, 黙行爾." 上曰, "寡人, 固請少進." 爰命徒中錚錚者, 更手撞擊, 舂容盡聲,剖

成公) where, upon the fall of Liangshan 梁山, the Marquis of Jin (晉侯) urgently called for Bozong 伯宗 to manage the situation.

157 Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416) was an eminent monk and scholar in the Eastern Jin dynasty. Among other things, he is known for having spent the last thirty years of his life at Donglin-sa 東林寺 on Lushan 廬山, and not leaving the mountain monastery even though the emperor had summoned him three times to come to court in the capital. Here, Muyŏm expresses a sense of shame for he does not follow Huiyuan's example and is about to acquiesce to the king's request to come to court. On Huiyuan's refusal to leave his mountain, See *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳 vol. 6, "Biography of Shi Huiyuan" (*Shi Huiyuan zhuan* 釋慧遠傳), quoted in *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 vol. 7. (Huiyuan divined a place to dwell on Lu Mount, his shadow not leaving the mountain, his tracks not entering the secular world. "慧遠卜居廬阜影不出山 迹不入俗").

158 *Fuzhu* 付囑 is an often-recurring term in Chan texts which refers to the Buddha entrusting someone among his audience to spread the Dharma he just preached. Similar terms with the same meaning are *zhulei* 囑累 and *leijiao* 累敎. In Buddhist sūtras, the section dealing with the entrusting of the Dharma is often referred to as *Zhulei pin* 囑累品 or *zhuduan* 囑段.

159 Hucker 2337.

160 "Younger brother Counselor-in-chief" (*t'aeje sangguk* 太弟相國) refers to King Kyŏngmun's younger brother and grand councilor Kim Wi-hong 金魏弘 who was posthumously granted the title of "great King Hyesŏng" (惠成大王).

滯祛煩, 若商飆之劃陰靄然. 於是上大喜, 懊見大師晩曰, "恭已南面, 司南南宗, 舜何人哉, 余何人也."

The king said, "I, your disciple, have nothing to be proud of, but I somewhat like to write prose. Once when I read Liu Xie's *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*[161] I came across the saying that 'To be obstructed in existence or to maintain nothingness is to be uselessly inclined towards a one-sided understanding. If you wish to progress towards the true source, it is the absolute state of *prajñā*.' Can you perhaps let us hear about this absolute state?" The Great Master replied, saying, "If the state is already absolute [i.e., cut-off], the principle is nonexistent. This is the seal [of the mind]. It is practiced in silence, like that." The king said, "We, the king, insistently request [for further guidance as we want to] progress [on the Buddhist path] a little." Thereupon [Muyŏm] ordered, among his disciples, those with a clear voice to [in his stead lecture on the Dharma to the king] with the cadence of clapping hands and the fading sound of grinding a mortar,[162] cutting through [the king and the audience's] obstructions and removing defilements, like the autumn whirlwind clearing up thick clouds. Thereupon the king greatly rejoiced and, regretting that he had met the Great Master so late, said, "To me [the king] who reverently faces south, you provided instructions in the

161 Liu Xie 劉勰 (fl. 5th c.), courtesy name Yanhe (彦和), was a writer and the author of *Wenxin* diaolong (*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*) 文心雕龍, which is considered as China's greatest work of literary aesthetics. Liu Xie was orphaned in his youth and chose not to marry, either because of poverty or conviction (or both). Liu studied Buddhism with Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) and helped edit sūtras at Dinglin-sa 定林寺 until his death during the Liang Dynasty. His biography is included in the *Liangshu* 梁書 (vol. 50). See also Victor H. Mair, "Buddhism in The Literary Mind and Ornate Rhetoric", in *A Life Journey to the East: Sinological Studies in Memory of Guiliano Bertuccioli (1923–2001)*, edited by Antonino Forte and Federico Masini, Kyoto: Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 2002.

162 When Muyŏm was requested by the king to preach the Dharma, he delegated the task to one of his disciples. The disciple replied to the king's questions about the Dharma in a prompt fashion that questions and answers succeeded one another like the sound of alternatively struck bells. See *Liji* 禮記 Xueji 學記, "待其從容(注)從, 讀如富父以伐舂喉之舂 謂重撞擊也 (疏) 言鍾之爲體 必待其擊 每一舂而爲一容 然後盡其聲 言善答者 亦待一問 然後一答."

Southern School [of Chan]. What kind of person was [king] Shun, what kind of person am I?”[163]

既出卿相延迓, 與謀不暇, 士庶趍承, 欲去不能. 自是, 國人皆認衣珠, 隣叟罷窺廡玉焉. 俄苦樊籔中, 卽亡去. 上知不可强, 迺降芝檢, 以尙州深妙寺, 不遠京, 請禪那別舘. 辭不獲,往居之. 一日必葺, 儼若化城.

After [the king] left, the gentlemen ministers successively went to meet him and as they consulted with him, there was no spare time left. As scholars and common people consecutively rushed to revere him, he was not able to leave even if he wanted to. From then on, all people in the country realized that they had a pearl woven in their clothing. The neighboring old man stopped to peep for the jade hidden beneath the veranda.[164] Soon he suffered from being like inside a bird-cage[165] and promptly fled running away. As the king realized that he could not compel him [to stay], he issued a directive[166]

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163 This sentence occurs in the *Mengzi* 孟子, Tengwen gong Chapter 滕文公 上: “Yan Yuan said, ‘What kind of man was Shun? What kind of man am I? He who exerts himself will also become such as he was.’ ” 顔淵曰: 舜何人也? 予何人也? 有為者亦若是. Its meaning is that anybody can become like the legendary king Shun and attain the state of a sage.

164 This is a reference to a gem hidden beneath the floor a house, the existence of which the residents are ignorant until a neighbor comes and discovers it. The story occurs in the *Yinwenzi* 尹文子 Dadao Chapter 大道, “It is said that Wei Sou obtained a jade a foot around. His neighbor said, ‘This is a very uncanny stone.’ So he threw it under his verandah. At night its light lit up the whole house, and he was even more terrified. So he discarded it in the wilds. The neighbor presented it to the king. The king gave the presenter of the jade a thousand gold coins, and (appointed him) Honorary Gentleman with Emoluments of Changshi” 云 魏叟得經尺玉 隣人曰 此至怪石也 抛置廡下 夜間光照一室 益大駭 棄之野 隣人獻之王 王賜獻玉者 千金 長食上大夫祿. In a Buddhist context, sentient beings are unaware that their own nature is like a precious gem, that is: because of ignorance sentient beings don’t know that their mind is the Buddha. Here, as Muyŏm already has preached the Dharma, there is no further need for someone else to come and fulfill the role of an old neighbor.

165 Being inside a bird-cage is a reference to Muyŏm’s being entangled in the royal palace as a result of the king’s request.

166 The word for the king’s directive used here is *zhijian* 芝檢, referring to a hand-written note. See *Ruimingji* 瑞命記, “If a king is virtuous and humane a purple fungus [of longevity] will grow. Therefore

[to have Muyŏm reside] at Simwŏn-sa in Sangju, not far from the capital, and requested that a separate building [be provided] for [the practice of] dhyāna [meditation]. [Muyŏm] declined, but as he no longer could disobey [the king], he went to dwell there. Within a single day, he managed to repair [that monastery], it was majestic like a city conjured up by magic.[167]

乾符三年春, 先大王不預, 命近侍曰, "亟迎我大醫王來." 使至, 大師曰, "山僧足及王門, 一之謂甚, 知我者, 謂聖住爲無住, 不知我者, 謂无染爲有染乎, 然顧與吾君, 有香火因緣, 忉利之行, 有期矣, 盍就一訣." 復步至王居. 設藥言施箴戒, 覺中愈, 擧國異之. 旣踰月, 獻康大王, 居翌室. 泣命王孫勛榮,諭旨曰, "孤, 幼遭閔凶, 未能知政, 致君奉佛, 誧濟海人, 與獨善其身, 不同言也, 幸, 大師, 無遠適, 所居唯所擇." 對曰, "古之師則六籍在, 今之輔則三卿在. 老山僧, 何爲者, 坐蝗蠹桂玉哉. 旣有三言, 庸可留獻. 曰, '能官人.' "

In the spring of the third year of the Qianfu era [876],[168] the Great Predecessor King did not feel well and ordered his court attendant, saying "Immediately go and come with my great physician king [i.e., Muyŏm]." When the envoy arrived, the Great Master said, "For my feet to have touched the king's [palace's] gate once was already too much. Those who know me will say that 'Sŏngju' ["abode of the saint"] has become 'Muju' ["nonabiding"]. Those who do not know me will say that Muyŏm ["not tainted"] has become Yuyŏm ["tainted"]. But thinking about it, our king has a karmic connection with incense fire [i.e., Buddhism] and he is bound for the journey to the Heaven of the Thirty-three [gods; after his demise].[169] Why should I not go

letters in the kings hand are called a fungus envelope [*zhijian*]" 王者德仁則芝草生故王之手書 謂芝檢.

167 A city conjured up by magic (*huacheng* 化城). For a description thereof see the Chapter of the Parable of the Conjured City 化城喻品 in the *Lotus Sūtra*.

168 The Qianfu 乾符 era refers to the reign of the Tang Emperor Xizong 僖宗 (874–879), and corresponds to Silla's King Hŏn'gang's reign.

169 The Heaven of the Thirty-three (gods) (S. *Trāyastriṃśas*) in Buddhist cosmology is located on the top of Mount Sumeru and corresponds to the second of the six heavens within the realm of desire. Here, it is used to describe the king's death as an ascension to Heaven.

and bade him farewell one [last time]?" Thus he went once again to dwell [in] the royal palace. As he bestowed words of healing and gave admonitions, [the king] unconsciously was healed. The whole country was suprised about it. Then the following month [King Kyŏngmun passed away and][170] the Great King Hŏn'gang dwelled in the adjacent room [as main mourner]. In tears, King [Hŏn'gang] ordered the royal grandson Hunyŏng,[171] saying, "I the king, have met in my youth with the death of my parents and was not able to know how to govern. Now that I am the ruler, I shall revere the Buddha and assist the saving of many people. This is not the same as being solely concerned with cultivating one's moral character. I hope that you, Great Master [Muyŏm], do not go far away and reside at a place of your own choosing." [Muyŏm] replied, saying, "Since the ancient past, you have the Six Classics[172] as your teacher. Nowadays, you have the Three Ministers as your advisors. What can I, an old mountain monk, do besides [idly] sitting [like] a locust or a moth eating firewood and grain![173] [Your father the king] already gave you three words of advice.[174] What more can I say? The saying goes 'employ capable officials'!"[175]

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170 The *Samguk Sagi* vol. 11, entry on King Kyŏngmun's reign, gives the date for the king's death as the eight day of the seventh month in the second year of the Qianfu era, a year earlier than the record of this inscription.

171 Hunyŏng 勛榮 also written 勳榮. See "Changnim-sa Mugu chŏngt'ap wŏngi" 昌林寺無垢淨塔願記, "監修造使從叔新授康州泗受縣令金勳榮."

172 The Six Classics refers to the *Book of Songs/Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經), the *Book of Documents* (*Shangshu* 尚書), the *Book of Rites* (*Yili* 儀禮), the *Book of Music* (*Yuejing* 樂經), the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi* 周易), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).

173 *Huang* 蝗 is a kind of locust eating the bud of grain, *tan* 蠹 corresponds to a moth, *guiyu* 桂玉 refers to firewood and victuals. See *Zhanguoce* (Strategems of the Warring States) 戰國策, "Strategems of Chu" (Chuce 楚策), "Su Qin in speaking of Chu said, 'They value grain more than jade, firewood more than cassia" 蘇秦說楚日 米貴於玉 薪貴於桂.

174 This refers to the three characters 能, 官, 人 meaning "to emply capable officials."

175 The saying "employ capable officials" here refers to employing capable individuals in a Confucian sense, that is, irrespective of social class. Therefore, it seems that Nanghye, who himself belonged to the head-rank six class, argued that in employing officials, individual capacity was to be prioritized

翌日, 挈山裝鳥逝. 自爾, 騎置傳訊, 影綴巖溪. 遽人, 知往抵聖住, 卽皆雀躍, 叢手易轡 慮滯王程尺寸地. 由是騎常侍倫伍, 得急宣, 爲輕擧. 乾符帝錫命之歲, 令國內舌杪有可道者,貢興利, 除害策, 別用蠻牋書言,"荷天寵, 有所自因." 垂益國之問, 大師, 引出何尙之, 獻替宋文帝心聲爲對. 太傅王覽, 謂介弟南宮相曰,"三畏比三歸, 五常均五戒. 能踐王道, 是符佛心. 大師之言, 至矣哉, 吾與汝, 宜惓惓.

The next day [Muyŏm] took his gear to return to the mountains and left like a bird. Henceforth, the shadows cast by mounted couriers transmitting [the king's] inquiries [to Muyŏm] were connected like cliffs and brooks. As soon as the messengers knew that were heading for Sŏngju-sa, they all jumped [joyfully] like sparrows and gathered [both] hands to pull on the reins, worrying that their journey for the king might be obstructed even for an inch. Because of this, the regular mounted attendants[176] who had received the [king's] urgent proclamation were able to deliver it rapidly [to Muyŏm]. In the year the Qianfu Emperor [i.e., Emperor Xizong of the Tang] invested [King Hŏn'gang] [878], [the king] decreed that those in the country [of Silla] having an eloquent tongue and able to explain the [Buddhist] path, should contribute to promoting the benefits and removing affliction, by separately using mugwort writing paper (manjŏn 蠻牋)[177] to write a memorandum saying "receiving a favor from heaven is because there is a reason for it." When a question regarding the benefit of the country was handed down [to him], the Great Master [Muyŏm] replied by quoting [the minister] He Shang-zhi[178] voicing his thoughts[179] to persuade Emperor

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over social background. On this issue, see Chŏn Mi-hŭi 田美姬, "Silla Kyŏngmun wang, Hŏngang wangdae ŭi nŭnggwan'in tŭngyong chŏngch'aek kwa kukhak" 新羅 景文王.憲康王代의 '能官人' 登用政策과 國學, in *Tonga yŏngu* 東亞研究 17, 1989.

176 Hucker 264.

177 "Barbarian paper" (*manjŏn* 蠻牋) was paper produced from mugwort since the Koguryŏ dynasty. It is also referred to as *soji* 蕭紙 (lit. "mugwort paper"). *Man* "barbarian" refers to Korea or Sichuan.

178 He Shangzhi 何尙之 from the Liu Song Dynasty (420–479 CE). His courtesy name 字 was Yande 彦德 and his posthumous name (*shi* 謚) Jianmu 簡穆. He held the office of Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Vice Minister in the Court of Imperial Entertainment and Commander Unequalled in Honor 尙書令 左光祿 開府儀同三司. See *Songshu* 宋書 vol. 66, and *Nanshi* 南史 vol. 30.

Wen of [Liu] Song to do good and avoid evil.[180] The Grand Mentor King [i.e., King Hŏn'gang],[181] having seen this, said to his eldest younger brother, the Minister of the Southern Palace [i.e., the Director of the Ministry of Rites],[182] "The Three Anxieties[183] are comparable to the Three Refuges,[184] the Five Constant Virtues[185] equal the Five Precepts.[186] To practice the royal path is to conform to the Buddha's mind. As the Great Master's words are of the utmost pertinence, I and you should apply ourselves sincerely."

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179 The term rendered as thoughts here is *xinsheng* 心聲, literally "mind-sound." It occurs in the *Mengzi* 孟子.

180 The term for "doing good and eschewing evil" is *xianti* 獻替, an abbreviation of xianke tifou 獻可替否, "to persuade somebody to do good and dissuade him from doing evil." When a subject submits a memorial to the king in which he expresses his opinion concerning political issues, the king should integrate whatever part thereof he deems useful in his policies, and discard whatever part he considers to be inappropriate. This sentence occurs in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, "Biography of Hu Guang" (*Hu Guang zhuan* 胡廣傳), "I have heard that a ruler regards wide reading/observation and broad reflection as a virtue, and the minister regards persuading [the ruler] to do good and dissuade him from doing evil" 臣聞 君以兼覽博照爲德 臣以獻可替否爲忠.

181 Grand Mentor King (*taifuwang* 太傅王) refers to a posthumous title conferred on King Hŏn'gang. See Hucker 6158. Also see Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn 崔致遠, "Sa ch'u chŭng pyo" (Memorial in Thanks for the Granting of a Posthumous Title) 謝追贈表, "臣坦言 伏奉制旨 追贈亡父臣凝爲太師 亡兄臣晸爲太傅", and *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 vol. 11, "Basic Annals of Silla" (*Silla pongi* 新羅本紀) vol. 11, entry on the accession to the throne of Queen Chinsŏng 眞聖王卽位.

182 The Southern Palace is an unofficial reference to the Ministry of Rites (*Libu* 禮部). See Hucker 4102.

183 The Three Anxieties (*san wei* 三畏) refers to three things that a superior man (*junzi* 君子) should be anxious about, namely: the mandate of heaven (*tianming* 天命), great men (*daren* 大人), and sages (*shengren* 聖人). See Lunyu 論語 Lishi Chapter: "There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven. He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages." 季氏, "君子有三畏 畏天命 畏大人 畏聖人之言"

184 The three refuges refer to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Samgha.

185 The five constant virtues (*wu chang* 五常) of Confucianism: humaneness (*ren* 仁), righteousness (*yi* 義), propriety (*li* 禮), wisdom (*zhi* 智), and trust (*xin* 信).

186 The "five precepts" *wu jie* (五戒) of Buddhism consists in abstaining from killing, stealing, adultery, lying, and intoxicating substances.

中和西狩之年秋, 上謂侍人曰,"國有大寶珠, 畢世櫝而藏之,其可耶." 曰,"不可, 不若時一出, 俾醒萬戶眼, 醉四隣心." 曰,"我有末尼上珍, 匿曜在崇嚴山, 脫關秘藏, 宜照透三千界, 何十二乘, 足之道哉. 我文考懇迎, 嘗再顯矣. 昔酇侯, 譏漢王拜大將, 召小兒, 不能致商於四老人, 以此. 今聞, 天子蒙塵, 趣令奔問官守, 勤王加厚, 歸佛居先. 將邀大師, 必叶外議,吾豈敢倚其一, 慢其二哉."

In autumn of the year of the Xishou [incident in] the Zhonghe era [881],[187] the king said to his attendant, "There is a precious pearl in [our] country, can it be kept hidden away in a box for his entire lifetime? [The attendant] said, "It is not possible. Far better is it to take it out at once so that it opens the eyes of a myriad of households and inebriates the minds of [those in] the four neighborhoods [i.e., those in the four directions]." [The king] said, "I have a gem [lit. maṇi] of the utmost rarity. It conceals its brilliance on Sung'ŏm-san.[188] If it's secret storage place is opened, it will shine through the trichiliocosm. How could the whole realm[189] suffice to describe [its range of illumination]? My late father [King Kyŏng]mun, cordially had welcomed him [i.e., Muyŏm] and [thus] once again displayed [the gem]. In ancient times, the Marquis of Zan [i.e., Xiao He][190] ridiculed

187 This incident refers to Huang Chao's 黄巢 capture of Chang'an in autumn of 881, which forced the Tang Emperor Xizong 僖宗 to flee to Shu 蜀 (Sichuan). This incident is one episode in during Huang Chao's Revolt (875–884).

188 Sung'ŏm-san 崇嚴山 (lit. "lofty and majestic mountain") is another name for Sŏngju-san.

189 Lit. the realm circumscribed by twelve war-chariots (*shier sheng* 十二乘). This term occurs in the *Shiji* 史記, *Tianjing zhongwan shijia* "Biographies of the houses of Tian, Jing, Zhong, and Wan" 田敬仲完世家, "Still he had ten gems an inch round that illuminated fore and aft of the twelve war-chariots" 尚有經寸之珠 照車前後十二乘者十枚.

190 The Marquis of Zan (酇侯) refers to Xiao He 蕭何 (?–193 BCE) who was a Chinese statesman who lived during the early Han Dynasty. He served Liu Bang (later Emperor Gaozu of Han) during the insurrection against the Qin Dynasty, and fought on Liu's side in the Chu–Han contention against Xiang Yu. After the founding of the Han Dynasty, Xiao He became chancellor and held office until his death. For his contributions, he is also known as one of the "Three Heroes of the early Han Dynasty" (漢初三傑), along with Han Xin and Zhang Liang. He was also granted the title of Dynasty-founding meritorious subject (*kaiguo gongshen* 開國功臣). See *Shiji* 史記, *Xiaoyin hou zhuan* [Biography of the Duke Xiaoyin] 消陰侯傳.

the King of Han [i.e., Liu Bang][191] for appointing generals and summoning them like little children. Because of this [Liu Bang] was unable to invite the Four Elders on Shang-shan[192] [into his service]. Now as I hear that the Son of Heaven [i.e., Tang Emperor Xizong] [was forced to] flee the capital,[193] I have to quickly console the officials on duty.[194] The most sincere [way] to attend the king consists firstly in taking refuge in the Buddha. As I am about to welcome the Great Master [Muyŏm], I most certainly shall agree to external consultations. How can I dare to depend on the first [i.e., my will] and neglect the second [i.e., Muyŏm's virtue]?"[195]

乃重其使, 卑其辭徵之. 大師云, "孤雲出岫, 寧有心哉, 有緣乎大王之風, 無固, 乃上士之道." 遂來見. 見如先朝禮, 禮之加焯然. 可屈指者, 面供饌, 一也, 手傳

191 King of Han (漢王) was the title of Liu Bang (256 BCE or 247 BCE–195 BCE) before he became Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202 BCE–195 BCE) of the Han dynasty. Liu Bang, was the first emperor of the Han Dynasty and one of the few dynasty founders in Chinese history who emerged from the peasant class (another prominent example being Zhu Yuanzhang, founder of the Ming Dynasty).

192 The Four Elders on Shang-shan, commonly referred to as the "Four Haos of Mount Shang" (商山四皓), refer to four reclusive wise men recommended by Zhang Liang to Liu Ying, Liu Bang's oldest son and heir to the throne, in the succession dispute. These four men were Dongyuan Gong 東園公, Xiahuang Gong 夏黄公, Jiaoli Xiansheng 角里先生, and Qi Lixiao 綺里孝. See *Shiji* 史記, Liuhou shijia 留侯世家.

193 A reference to the Tang Emperor Xizong (r. 873–888) abandoning the capital of Chang'an and fleeing toward Chengdu during the Huang Chao Rebellion.

194 For the term 奔問官守 "I have to quickly console the officials on duty", see the *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, Xigong 僖公 entry for the twenty-fourth year.

195 The first item refers to the title of nobility (*jue* 爵), the second item of Muyŏm's virtue; literally age and virtue (*chi* 齒 and *de* 德). The meaning here is that although the king possesses a title of nobility he cannot dare to be negligent of Muyŏm's virtue. The origin of this expression is found in *Mengzi* 孟子, Gongsunchou Chapter 公孫丑 下,"The world has three things that are highly respected: nobility, age, and virtue. For the court there is nothing equal to noble rank; for the villages there is nothing equal to age, and for those aiding the world and looking after the people there is nothing equal to virtue. How can I have one of them and neglect the second ?" "天下有達尊三 爵一齒一德一 朝廷莫如爵 鄉黨莫如齒 輔世長民莫如德 惡得有其一以慢二哉."

香, 二也, 三禮者三, 三也, 秉鵲尾爐, 締生生世世緣, 四也, 加法稱曰廣宗, 五也, 翌日, 命振鷺趍鳳樹鴈列賀, 六也, 敎國中磋磨六義者, 賦送歸之什, 在家弟子王孫蘇判嶷榮, 首唱, 斂成軸, 侍讀翰林才子朴邕, 爲引而贈行, 七也, 申命掌次, 張淨室, 要叙別, 八也.

Then he courteously had his envoy humbly [transmit] his words [to Muyŏm] and summon him. The Great Master said, "If a lonely cloud emerges from a mountain cave, how could this be because it itself has a mind to? It is because there is a karmic affinity with the Great King's nobility of character. Lacking stubbornness[196] is the path of the superior scholar [or bodhisattva]."[197] Thereupon he went to have an audition [with the king]. [The king] met [with Muyŏm] according to the rite [performed by his father during] the previous reign, but his [perfomance of the] rite was on a [even] more magnificent [scale]. [The audience's characteristics] worthy of being enumerated were: first, the offering of delicacies during the meeting face-to-face; second, the personal handing over of incense [by the king]; third, [the king] performing the triple bow three times; fourth, the forming of karmic affinities [between the king and Muyŏm] for continuous generations [through numberless eons] by [the king's] holding up the magpie's tail-shaped incense burner; fifth, the granting [to Muyŏm] of the Dharma name Kwangjong ["Extensive Teaching"]; sixth, ordering the next day a display of flocks of herons, trees full of phoenixes, and rows of geese to congratulate[198] [Muyŏm];

196 The term "without stubbornness" is *wugu* 無固 and is one of the four items lacking in Confucius 孔子絶四中, the other three being *wuyi* 無意, *wubi* 無必, *wuwo* 無我. See *Lunyu* 論語, Zihan Chapter 子罕.

197 Note that the term superior scholar (Ch. *shangshi* 上士) in Buddhism refers to a bodhisattva.

198 Lit. *zhenlu* 振鷺 referring to flocks of herons flying. See *Shijing* 詩經, "Eulogies of Zhou" (Zhousong 周頌), *zhenlu* 振鷺, "振鷺于飛 于彼西雝," where flocks of herons refers to noble visitors.

振鷺:
振鷺于飛、于彼西雝.
我客戾止、亦有斯容.
在彼無惡、在此無斁.
庶幾夙夜、以永終譽.

seventh, instructing that those in the country proficient in crafting the six genres of poetry[199] compose poems to see off [Muyŏm] returning [to the mountains]. The lay disciple and royal grandson, the sop'an Ŏk Yŏng was the first [to compose and] recite [a poem]. The poems were collected into a scroll, for which the Royal Tutor and Hanlin Academician and gifted scholar Pak Ong wrote a preface. These were offered [to Muyŏm] as he left. Eight, ordering the Tent Handler[200] to set up a "pure room" for the [ceremony of] taking leave [of Muyŏm].

臨告別, 求妙訣, 乃眴從者, 擧眞要, 有若詢乂, 圓藏, 虛源, 玄影, 四禪中, 得清淨者, 緖抽其慧, 表纖旨, 注意無怠, 沃心有餘. 上甚悅撎拜曰, "昔文考爲捨瑟之賢, 今寡人, 忝避席之子. 繼體得崆峒之請, 服膺開混沌之源. 則彼渭濱老翁, 眞釣名者, 圯上孺子, 盖履迹焉, 雖爲王者師, 徒弄三寸舌也, 曷若吾師語密, 傳一片心乎. 奉以周旋, 不敢失墜."

As the time to bid farewell drew near, [the king] sought a subtle instruction. [Muyŏm] dazzled his followers by providing [an explanation of] the true essentials [of the Buddhist teachings]. The [monks] Sun'ye, Wŏnjang, Hŏwŏn, and Hyŏn'yŏng, who had obtained purity in [the practice

Zhen Lu:
A flock of herons is flying,
About the marsh there in the west.
My visitors came,
With an [elegant] carriage like those birds.
There, [in their States], not disliked;
Here, [in Zhou], never tired of; -
They are sure, day and night,
To perpetuate their fame.

199 The six genres of poetry (*liu yi* 六義 or *liu shi* 六詩) are folk songs (*feng* 風), festal songs (*ya* 雅), eulogies (*song* 頌), straightforward narrative (*fu* 賦), explicit comparisons (*bi* 比), and implied comparisons (*xing* 興).

200 Hucker 207.

of] the four dhyānas,[201] extracted the thread [of Muyŏm's] wisdom so as to display its detailed meaning. They concentrated their thoughts [on that task] without being negligent, which was more than enough to soak the mind [of the king]. Very pleased, the king bowed and said, "In the past, my late father [King Kyŏng]mun was a worthy who put aside the lute.[202] Now, [as for me] I, the king, am a disciple who disgraces himself avoiding the seat.[203] Having succeeded to the throne and asked [about the path like the Yellow Emperor had done on Mt.] Kongtong,[204] I shall comply with it and bear it in mind as the source of primal chaos. That old man on the shore of the Wei River [i.e., Jiang Ziya] truly fished fame.[205] The child on the bridge [i.e., Zhang

201 The term *sasŏn* 四禪 (S. *catur-dhyāna*) refers to four progressive states of types of meditative concentration (*dhyāna*), which lead one out from the desire realm into rebirth in the four meditation heavens. In the first *dhyāna*, the practitioner experiences the joy and pleasure of abandoning coarse desires. This is gained through the five mental functions of investigation 覺 (*vitarka*), observation (*vicāra*) 觀, joy 喜 (*prīti*), bliss 樂 (*sukha*), and concentration 一心 (*samādhi*). In the second *dhyāna*, one dwells solely in the joy and pleasure produced by meditation. This is achieved through calmness 內淨, joy 喜, bliss 樂, and concentration 一心. In the third, one attains sublime pleasure that transcends ordinary joy. In the fourth, one dwells in a state of mental stability free from various sensations of pain and pleasure.

202 "Putting aside the lute" refers to an individual of high ideals who is ready to abandon his wife; the term "lute" referring to one's spouse; for the sake of his country. See *Lunyu* 論語, Xianjin Chapter 先進.

203 Avoiding the seat (*bixi* 避席) refers to Zengzi 曾子 who stood up from his mat when addressing Confucius. Thus avoiding the seat, that is, standing up in the presence of one's teacher, was considered a gesture of respect.

204 Kongtong-shan 崆峒山 is located in Gansu Province, China. It is the mythical meeting site between Huangdi 黄帝 (the Yellow Emperor) and the Daoist immortal Guangchengzi 廣成子. Huangdi asked Guangchengzi about the path. Mention of this meeting occurs in the *Zhuangzi*, Zaiyou Chapter 在宥篇.

205 Jiang Ziya 姜子牙 (d.u.) was a Chinese historical and legendary figure who resided next to the Weishui River. A sage and military strategist, Jiang Ziya was called upon by King Wen of Zhou to serve as prime minister and thus became instrumental in Zhou affairs. It is said that, while in exile, he continued to wait placidly, fishing in a tributary of the Wei River using a barbless hook or even no hook at all, on the theory that the fish would come to him of their own volition when they were ready. See *Shiji* 史記, Qi taigong shijia "Biographies of the House of Qi Taigong" 齊太公世家.

Liang] went after the shoe [of Huang Shigong].[206] Although they became teachers of kings, they in vain [only] played with their [glib] tongue of three inches. How can [their words] be anything like the words of our teacher [i.e., Muyŏm] secretly transmitting the one [integral] mind? I shall uphold [his teaching] in all of our endeavors and not dare to fail."

> 太傅王, 雅善華言, 金玉音, 不患衆咻聒, 而能出口, 成儷語, 如宿構云. 大師旣退且往, 應王孫蘇判鎰, 共言數返, 卽歎曰, 昔人主有有遠躰而無遠神者, 而吾君備, 人臣有有公才而無公望者, 而吾全, 國其庶乎. 宜好德自悉." 及歸謝絶.

The Grand Mentor King [Hŏn'gang] had a refined and skillful command of the Chinese language, [when speaking it,] his voice sounded like the chiming of gold and jade. He was not bothered by the cacophony of the crowds [i.e., his subjects], and whatever his mouth emitted turned into

206 This refers to the meeting of Zhang Liang 張良 with Huang Shigong (黃石公; lit.: "Yellow Rock Old Man") one of the legendary "Four Haos of Mount Shang" (商山四皓). As a wanted man, Zhang Liang travelled to Xiapi 下邳 and stayed there for some time, using fake identities to evade the authorities. One day, Zhang Liang took a stroll at Yishui Bridge and met an old man there. The man walked towards Zhang Liang and chucked his shoe down on the bridge on purpose, after which he yelled at Zhang, "Hey boy, go down and fetch me my shoe!" Zhang Liang was astonished and unhappy but obeyed silently. The old man then lifted his foot and ordered Zhang Liang to put on the shoe for him. Zhang Liang was furious but he controlled his temper and meekly obliged. The man did not show any sign of gratitude and walked away laughing. The old man came back after walking a distance and praised Zhang Liang, "This child can be taught!" and asked Zhang Liang to meet him at the bridge again at dawn five days later. Zhang Liang was confused but agreed. Five days later, Zhang Liang rushed to the bridge at the stroke of dawn but the old man was already waiting for him there. The old man chided him, "How can you be late for a meeting with an elderly man? Come back again five days later!" Zhang Liang tried his best to be punctual the second time but the old man still arrived earlier than him, and he was scorned by the old man once more and told to return again five days later. The third time, Zhang Liang went to the bridge at midnight and waited until the old man appeared. This time, the old man was impressed with Zhang Liang's fortitude and humility that he presented Zhang with a book, saying, "You can become the tutor of a ruler after reading this book. Within ten years, the world will become chaotic. You can then use your knowledge from this book to bring peace and prosperity to the empire." The book was titled The Art of War by Taigong (太公兵法). See Shiji 史記, Liuhou shijia "Biographies of the House of the Marquis of Liu" 留侯世家.

couplets [verses] as if their structure had been premeditated beforehand. After the Great Master had withdrawn [to the mountains], he received the royal grandson, the sop'an Il, and as they exchanged a few words, he [i.e., Muyŏm] exclaimed once more, saying, "Among former sovereigns, some inherited the body while not inheriting the spirit. But [now] our lord is endowed [with both]. Among the subjects, some had the talent but lacked the reputation for becoming ministers. But [now as you] our [king's grandson] [are] completely [endowed with both talent and reputation] the country will nearly [become good]. It [thus] appropriate that you be inclined to virtue and self-respect." Thereupon he took leave and returned back.

於是, 遣輶軒標放生場界, 則鳥獸悅. 紐銀鉤札聖住寺題, 則龍虵活. 盛事畢矣, 昌期忽兮. 定康大王莅阼, 兩朝寵遇師而行之. 使緇素重使迎之, 辭以老且病.

Thereupon [King Hŏn'gang] dispatched a Royal Commissioner[207] to [Muyŏm's monastery to] mark the precincts of the place for releasing life in [the monastery's] grounds,[208] and then the birds and beasts rejoiced. He also had a name plaque engraved in silver characters titled 'Sŏngju-sa' [which the king himself wrote in a dynamic calligraphy] with the vitality of dragons and serpents. On the completion of this great event, [Hŏn'gang's reign of] prosperity suddenly [ended as the king died]. The Great King Chŏnggang ascended the throne. He followed the [precedent of] both reigns [i.e., those of Kyŏngmun and Hŏn'gang] who favored the master [Muyŏm]. He ordered monks and laymen,[209] and [his] emissaries, to accompany [Muyŏm to the capital], but he declined because of old age and illness.

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207 The term literally means "commissioner in a light chariot (*youxuanshi* 輶軒使), See Hucker 8053.

208 This refers to marking with signposts the boundary of the monastery's precincts, in which no living being was to be harmed or killed: hence the term "releasing life" (Ch. *fangsheng* 放生). These were similar to the "signposts of longevity" (長生標柱) already mentioned above.

209 The term rendered as "monks and laymen" is *zisu* 緇素, literally "black and white (robes)." Black refers to the robe of a monk or nun (*ziyi* 緇衣), white refers to the clothes of a layman.

太尉大王, 流恩表海, 仰德高山, 嗣位九旬, 馳訊十返. 俄聞脊腰之苦, 遽命國醫往爲之. 至則請苦狀, 大師微破顔曰, "老病耳, 無煩治." 糜飧二時, 必聞鍾後進. 其徒憂食力虧, 陰戒掌枹者, 陽密擊. 乃目牖而命撤.

The Great Queen and Defender-in-chief[210] [Chinsŏng?] outpoured favors so [extensive as to cover] the ocean. She admired [Muyŏm's] virtue like a lofty mountain. Within ninety days after she had inherited the throne, she had ten epistolary exchanges [by means of] swift [couriers]. Soon she heard that [Muyŏm] suddenly suffered from a pain in the waist. She immediately ordered her court physician to go to [treat] him. When the [court physician] arrived and inquired about the symptoms of his pain, the Great Master broke into a broad smile and said, "[This is] merely the illness of old age, do not bother to treat it." He [Muyŏm; ate] rice gruel at the two times [of the day],[211] always [only] after having heard the bell [announcing the mealtime] did he proceed [to eat]. Anxious that the strength to eat would fail him, his disciples secretly admomished the [monk] supervising the bell stick to strike [the bell] closer [i.e., earlier than] noon. [But even] then, [Muyŏm] looked outside the window [realizing that it was not yet noon] and ordered [the food] be removed.[212]

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210 The title of Defender-in-chief (Ch. *taiwei* 太尉) was instituted in the Qin 秦 dynasty and refers to the commander of the empire's armed forces, and was one of the Three Dukes (sangong 三公) among whom major responsibilities in the central government were divided. From 119 BCE to 51 CE, in the Han dynasty, the title taiwei was replaced by dasima 大司馬 (Commander-in-chief). In the Later Han, Emperor Guangwu reverted to the designation taiwei which was preserved until its abolition in the early Ming. See, Hucker 6260. The *Jiu Tangshu's* "Treatise on Silla" (*Xinluo zhuan* 新羅傳) provides numerous examples of Silla kings receiving their royal titles from Tang emperors. In Middle and Late Silla, kings concurrently received the title of "assistant defender-in-chief" (*jianxiao taiwei* 檢校太尉, Kr. *kŏmgyo taewi*). In Muyŏm's stele inscription, there is no clear indication as to whom the titles of "king" and Defender-in-chief concretely refer to, but the context suggests that it refers to the ruler of Silla at the time of Muyŏm's death (888), corresponding to the first year of Queen Chinsŏng's rule, who ascended the throne in 887.

211 The two times (Ch. ershi 二時, S. dvi-kāla) refers to the two periods of the day (morning and evening). A Buddhist monk was supposed to eat meals only at two fixed times a day.

212 As Muyŏm only started to eat his meals after having heard the sound of the bell and drum

將化往, 命旁侍, 警遺訓于介衆曰, "已過中壽, 難逃大期. 我儂遠遊, 爾曹好住. 講若畫一, 守而勿失. 古之吏, 尙如是, 今之禪, 宜勉旃." 告訣裁罷, 慭然而化.

As he was about to pass away [into extinction], he ordered his close attendant[s] to admonish the assembly with his bequeathed teaching [i.e., his last instructions] which said, "Already more than eighty years [old],[213] it is difficult [for me] to escape death. I am about to travel far away, [may] you stay well. In lecturing you should be consistent, guarding and not neglecting [your cultivation]. As the government officials of yore did like this, Sŏn [practitioners] of the present should exert themselves [likewise]." Having [thus] bidden farewell, he remained motionless and passed away.

大師性恭謹, 語不傷和氣, 禮所云, 中退然, 言呐呐然者乎." 黌侶必目以禪師. 接賓客, 未嘗殊敬乎尊卑, 故滿室慈悲, 烝徒悅隨. 五日爲期, 俾來求者質疑.

The Great Master's nature was respectful and attentive, his language was inoffensive and gentle. He was like what the *Book of Rites* refers to as 'carrying oneself in a retiring way' and 'being low and stuttering in speech.'[214] His fellow students [of the path] always referred to him as 'Sŏn Master.' In receiving guests he never differentiated his respect according to high or low [rank]. Therefore his room was replete with [loving kindness] and compassion, and numerous disciples happily followed him. He set [aside]

announcing mealtime (*yunji zhong* 雲集鐘), his disciples purposedly had requested the monk on charge to beat the drum ahead of time. However, Muyŏm, detected the anomaly and looking outside, realized that it was not yet noon time and declined to eat in advance, thus remaining faithful to the food-time regulations.

213 The expressions for the age used here are from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "Robber Zhi" (Daozhi Chapter 盜跖): *shangshou* 上壽 is hundred, *zhongshou* 中壽 eighty, and *xiashou* sixty years. As Muyŏm lived eighty-eight years, the expression "he went beyond the *zhongshou* 中壽" is used.

214 A reference to being humble and circumspect in dealing with people and objects, as well as being reticent in speaking. See *Liji* 禮記, Tan Gong Chapter II (檀弓 下): "Wen-zi knew men. He carried himself in a retiring way, as if he could not bear even his clothes. His speech was low and stuttering, as if he could not get his words out. 文子其中退然如不勝衣, 其言呐呐然如不出諸其口.

a time frame of five days so that those coming to seek [the Dharma] could question him [about their doubts].

諭生徒則曰,"心雖是身主, 身要作心師. 患不爾思道, 豈遠. 而設是田舍兒, 能擺脫塵羈. 我馳則必馳矣, 道師, 教父, 寧有種乎." 又曰,"彼所啜, 不濟我渴, 彼所噉, 不救我餒. 盍努力自飮且食." 或謂,"教禪爲無同, 吾未見其宗. 語本夥頤, 非吾所知. 大較同弗與異弗. 非晏坐息機, 斯近縷褐被者歟." 其言顯而順, 其旨奧而信, 故能使尋相爲無相, 道者勤而行之, 不見有岐中之岐.

In instructing his disciples he said, "Although the mind is the master of the body, the body must take the mind as its master. Worry about yourselves not thinking about the path, how could it [i.e, the path] keep away from you? Even if you are farmers, you still can extricate yourself from the fetters of the secular world. If I go swiftly then [likewise the mind also] must go swiftly. What [difference of] kind is there between masters of the path [i.e., teachers of Sŏn] and patriarchs of Kyo?"[215] Moreover, he said, "What is drunk by someone else does not relieve my thirst, what is chewed by someone else does not relieve my hunger. Why not make an effort to drink and eat for oneself? Someone said that Kyo and Sŏn are not the same, but I yet have to see such a doctrine. There are originally many words [about this issue], [but that] is not something I [have to] know [about]. Relatively speaking, even if [Kyo and Sŏn] are the same, this is not to be assented to if [Kyo and Sŏn] differ, this is not wrong [either]. Sitting peacefully and stopping the [discriminative] faculties [of the mind] is close to being [a sage] clad in coarse clothes [hiding a jade jewel]."[216] His [i.e., Muyŏm's] words were clear and reasonable, their meaning profound and true. Therefore they made those seeking form [realize] that which has no form. Practitioners of the path [i.e, of Sŏn] diligently put [his words] into practice and did not see that within a forked road there was

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215 Here, advocates of Sŏn and proponents of Kyo are viewed as being equal.

216 The *Daodejing* says that "It is thus that the sage wears (a poor garb of) hair cloth, while he carries his (signet of) jade in his bosom." *Daodejing* Chapter 70, 是以聖人被褐懷玉." In this context, this is a metaphor for the Sŏn practitioner who wears monastic robes and hides his Buddha-nature inside.

yet another forked road.

始壯及衰, 自貶爲基, 食不異糧, 衣必均服. 凡所營葺, 役先衆人, 每言,"祖師嘗踏泥, 吾豈蹔安栖." 至捷水負薪, 或躬親. 且曰,"山爲我爲塵, 安我得安身." 其剋己勵物, 皆是類.

From the prime of his life up to the decrepitude of his old age, [Muyŏm] took self-deprecation as [his] basis. He did not vary his diet and always donned the same clothes [robes]. When building or repairing monasteries, he was the first to perform labor, preceding the assembly [of monks]. He always mentioned that "The Buddha[217] once used to step on mud.[218] How can I rest at ease even for a moment?" Sometimes he went so far as carrying water and shouldering firewood himself. Furthermore, he said, "As the mountains turns into dust for my sake, how can I be at rest in my body?"[219] The ways in which he subdued [himself] and encouraged [sentient] beings [to practice] were all like this.

大師少讀儒家書, 餘味在脣吻, 故醻對多韻語. 門弟子名可名者, 厘二千人, 索居而稱坐道場者, 曰僧亮, 曰普愼, 曰詢乂, 曰心光. 諸孫詵詵, 厥衆濟實. 可謂, '馬祖毓龍子, 東海淹西河焉.'

In his childhood, the Great Master had read the writings of Confucian scholars and as the remaining taste of them was on his lips, he often used rhymed language in his conversations. Among his disciples whose names are worth mentioning there were almost two thousand persons. Among those [disciples] who dwelled alone [ie., separately] and were appointed to supervise

217 Literally "Buddha ancestor", (*puljo* 佛祖), a reference to Buddha Śākyamuni as the founding patriarch, or ancestor, of Buddhism.

218 This is a reference to the story of the building of the Jetavana vihāra, when the Buddha stepped on mud together with Śāriputra and Mahākāśyapa.

219 The implication is that the mountains turn into dust for the sake of Muyŏm, but as Muyŏm also turns into dust after dying, his ashes will be enshrined in the mountains and as such he pollutes the mountains by "dwelling" there.

monasteries[220] figured [the monks] Sŭngnyang, Posin, Sun'ye, and Simgwang. The grandson-disciples [i.e., second-generation disciples] were numerous and as a group they displayed a dignified and honest behavior.[221] One might say that Mazu [Daoyi] reared the son of the dragon [i.e., Muyŏm] and that the Eastern Sea [i.e., Silla] covered the West River [i.e., China].[222]

論曰, 麟史不云乎."公侯之子孫, 必復其始, 則昔武烈大王, 爲乙粲時, 爲屠獩貊乞師, 計將, 眞德女君命陛覲昭陵皇帝. 面陳, 願奉正朔, 易服章, 天子嘉許庭, 賜華裝受位特進. 一日, 召諸蕃王子宴, 大置酒, 堆寶貨, 俾恣滿所欲." 王乃杯觴則禮以防亂, 繒綵則智以獲多. 衆辭出, 文皇目送而歎曰,"國器." 及其行也, 以御製幷書溫湯晋祠二碑, 暨御撰晋書一部. 賚之時, 蓬閣寫是書, 裁竟二本, 上一錫儲君, 一爲我賜. 復命華資官, 祖道靑門外, 則寵之優, 禮之厚, 設聾盲乎智者, 足亦駭耳目. 自玆, 吾土一變至於魯. 八世之後, 大師西學而東化, 加一變至於道, 則莫之與京, 捨我誰謂傳矣哉哉.

To comment upon this, did the *Spring and Autumn Annals* not mention it?[223] [The *Spring and Autumn Annals* said,] "The descendants of dukes and marquises surely will return to the beginnings [i.e., revert to the glory

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220 The term for monastery is "seat of enlightenment" (Ch. *daochang* 道場, S. *bodhi-maṇḍa*), which initially referred to the ground under the bodhi tree, where the Buddha was seated at the time of achieving awakening (S. *bodhi*). In China and Korea, the term came to refer to a Buddhist monastery, the place where religious practice was carried out.

221 The term "dignified behavior" (*jiji* 濟濟) refers to the collective behavior in dignity. See "Also numerous and grand, the appearance of much prosperity; some say very dignified" 又濟濟, 衆盛之貌. 一曰多威儀也, from *Guangyuji*.

222 Tian Zifang 田子方 was a disciple of Zi Gong 子貢, who was himself a notable disciple of Confucius. Tian Zifang used to teach several thousand disciples near the West River (Xihe 西河). Here, Muyŏm's second-generation disciples are compared to Confucius' second-generation disciple Tian Zifang. As the number of Muyŏm's second-generation disciples was greater than those of Tian Zifang, the Sŏn tradition of the Eastern Sea [i.e., Silla] is said to cover that of the Western River [i.e., China].

223 The *Spring and Autumn Annals* are referred to by the term *Linshi* 麟史, which occurs it the text itself as *Linjing* 麟經.

of their ancestors]."[224] Formerly, when the Great King Muyŏl[225] was still a ŭlch'an,[226] to carry out the plan to request [Tang China for] an army to slaughter the Yemaek,[227] [by order of] Queen Chindŏk, he went to [China] to have an audience with [Tang] Emperor Zhaoling [i.e., Taizong].[228] Pleading his wish [in an audience] face-to-face [with the emperor], [Kim Ch'un-ch'u] paid his respect [on the occasion of] the first day of the lunar year and [pleaded his intention] to change the [system of official] attires [of Silla to match those of Tang]. The Son of Heaven gave his ready permission and in the courtyard [of the imperial palace] bestowed on him a Chinese dress and the title of 'Lord Specially Advanced.'[229] One day, the emperor

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224 A quote from *Chunqiu Zuozhuan*, Entry for the first year of Mingong 閔公 元年條.

225 T'aejong 太宗 Muyŏl 武烈 (602–661), born Kim Ch'un-ch'u 金春秋, was the twenty-ninth king of Silla (r. 654–661). He is credited for leading the unification of the Three Kingdoms (i.e., Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla).

226 *ŭlch'an* 乙粲 is the second highest of Silla's seventeen ranks and synonymous with *ich'an* 伊飡.

227 The Yemaek 獩貊 were an ethnic group who dwelt in Manchuria and the Korean Peninsula.

228 Taizong 太宗 (599–649), was the second emperor (r. 626–649) of the Tang Dynasty. Zhaoling 昭陵 refers to his mausoleum.

In 643, Silla's Queen Sŏndŏk submitted a report claiming that her state was under heavy attack by Paekche, allied with Koguryŏ. She requested aid from Tang. Emperor Taizong sent the official Xiangli Xuanjiang (相里玄獎) to Koguryŏ to order both it and Paekche to stop attacking Silla. When Xiangli arrived in the Koguryŏ capital P'yŏngyang, Yŏn, who was attacking Silla at that time, returned to P'yŏngyang to meet with Xiangli, but refused to follow Emperor Taizong's order. When Xiangli returned to Chang'an and reported this to Emperor Taizong, Emperor Taizong resolved to attack Koguryŏ, stating: "Tang Emperor Taizong 太宗. The ich'an Kim Ch'un-ch'u traveled as an envoy of Queen Chindŏk to Tang China and had an audience with Emperor Taizong." See *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 vol. 5, "Basic Annals of Silla" (Silla pongi 新羅本紀) 5, entry for the second year of Queen Chindŏk 眞德王 2; see also *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 vol. 199, "Biographies" (Liezhuan 列傳) 145, Treatise on Dongyi 東夷 Xinluo zhuan 新羅傳.

229 Kim Ch'un-ch'u went to Tang China On behalf of Queen Chindŏk to request Taizong for military support against Paekche. The emperor also acquiesced to Kim Ch'un-ch'u's request to adopt the Tang official dress code, and granted him the title of "Lord Specially Advanced" (*tejin* 特進). See Hucker 6335.

summoned the princes of foreign countries to a banquet at which much wine was provided and rare products were piled up, so that [they all] indulged and were satisfied as they wished. The prince [i.e., Kim Ch'un-ch'u] [used] his wine cup [in moderation] and [observed] propriety to prevent [drunken] disorder.[230] For his wisdom he obtained many varicolored silk fabrics. And when he bide farewell to leave, [Emperor] Wen [i.e., Taizong][231] saw him off and sighed, saying, "What a utensil [i.e., talented individual] for the state, and what a [virtuous] conduct!" The emperor gave him two inscriptions he himself had composed, those of Wentang and Jinci,[232] and one copy of the *History of the Jin dynasty* which he had compiled himself as well.[233] At that time, the emperor had copied these writings in the Palace Library[234] and made two copies, one of which the emperor granted to the crown prince, and the other one he bestowed on our [prince Kim Ch'un-ch'u]. Furthermore, [the emperor] ordered the palace assistants to escort him outside of the

230 This is a reference of drinking in moderation and in accordance with propriety. When a prince received a cup of wine from the emperor, he would perform a hundred prostrations to it, thereby avoiding getting drunk. See *Rizhilu* 日知錄, "Miscellaneous (*zashi* 雜事) entry on prohibition of wine (*jiujin* 酒禁)": "At the ceremony of offerings, the guest and hosts bow a hundred times, drinking wine all day but one should not get drunk there" 一獻之禮 賓主百拜 終日飲酒 而不得醉焉.

231 Emperor Wen 文 was the posthumous name of Emperor Taizong.

232 The "Inscription of Wen Tang" 溫湯 (lit. "warm hot spring water") had been compiled by Taizong's father, Emperor Gaozu 高祖, when he traveled to the hot springs of Li-shan 驪山. The "Inscription of Jinci" 晉祠 (lit. "ancestral temple of the Jin dynasty"), was composed by Taizong himself on the occasion of his visit to his ancestral temple in Taiyuan 太原 Prefecture.

233 The *History of the Jin dynasty* (*Jinshu* 晉書) was compiled by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 and Li Tingshou 李廷壽 on Taizong's order. It consists of 130 fascicles recording the history of the Western and Eastern Jin dynasty.

234 The Peng Pavilion (*peng ge* 蓬閣, lit. "Peng Lai Pavilion") refers to the Palace Library or to the Directorate of the Palace Library (*bishujian* 秘書監). See, Hucker 4588. In Chinese mythology, Penglai 蓬來 refers to a mountain or an island considered to be the abode of the Eight Immortals. Supposedly, there are magical fruits growing on it that can heal any disease and grant eternal youth. Historically, Qin Shi Huang (the first emperor of Qin), in search of the elixir of life, made several attempts to find the island where the mountain is located, to no avail.

Blue Gate. The excellence of [the emperor's] favors and the magnanimosity of his courtesy were enough to astonish the ears and eyes of those whose intelligence was deaf and blind. Henceforth, by one change our land became [a civilized country] like [the state of] Lu.[235] Eight generations later [following Kim Ch'un-ch'u's example], the Great Master [Muyŏm went to] study in the West [i.e., in China] and then changed the East [i.e., Silla] [by] imposing one change, causing [the country] to conform to the [Buddhist] path.[236] As there is nothing more lofty than this, if we discard our [master Muyŏm] who [else] is to be called great?

先祖, 平二敵國, 俾人變外鎊, 大師降六魔賊, 俾人修內德. 故得千乘主, 兩朝拜起四方民, 萬里奔趍, 動必頤使之, 靜無腹非者. 庯詎非應半, 千而顯大千者歟, 復其始之說, 亦何慊乎哉. 彼文成侯爲師漢祖, 大誇封萬戶位列侯, 爲韓相子孫

235 The State of Lu, (Ch. Luguo 魯國) was a Zhou 周 Dynasty (1046–256 BCE) ducal vassal state in the alluvial plain of the Yellow River and the Shandong Peninsula. Confucius was born in the State of Lu, in or near the city of Qufu (曲阜). At the age of fifty-three, Confucius is said to have risen to the position of Justice Minister. According to the Records of the Grand Historian (*Shiji*), the neighboring state of Qi (齊) was worried that Lu was becoming too powerful. Qi decided to sabotage Lu's reforms by sending horses and beautiful dancing girls to the Duke of Lu. The Duke indulged himself in pleasure and did not attend to official duties. Confucius was deeply disappointed and resolved to leave both his post and the state of Lu. He began a long journey (or set of journeys) around the small kingdoms of northeast and central China, including the states of Wei (衛), Song (宋), Chen (陳) and Cai (蔡). At the courts of these states, he expounded his political beliefs but did not see them implemented. According to the *Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals* (Chunqiu Zuozhuan), Confucius returned home when he was 68. The *Analects* (Lunyu) depict him spending his last years teaching disciples and transmitting the old wisdom via a set of texts called the Five Classics. Thus, the State of Lu was closely associated with Confucius and his teachings. The stele inscription refers to Silla becoming a civilized country like the State of Lu by its adoption of the Tang system. This expression occurs in the *Lunyu* 論語, Yongye Chapter 雍也: "[The Master] said, 'Qi, by one change, would become like the State of Lu. Lu, by one change, would become a State conforming to the Path.'" 曰 齊一變 至於魯, 魯一變 至於道.

236 Here again, the expression "to conform to the path" (*zhiyu dao* 至於道) is taken from the aforementioned passage of the *Lunyu*, but here "path" is to be understood as referring to the Buddhist path.

之極則倜矣. 假學仙有終始, 果能白日上昇去, 於中止得爲鶴背上, 一幻軀爾. 又焉現, 我大師, 拔俗於始, 濟衆於中, 潔己於終矣乎, 美盛德之形容, 古尙乎頌, 偈頌類也. 扣寂爲銘, 其詞曰,

Our ancestor [King Muyŏl] pacified the two enemy countries [of Koguryŏ and Paekche][237] so that the people changed [and adopted] the foreign [i.e., Chinese] dress code. The Great Master [Muyŏm] subdued the six thieves headed by Māra [i.e., the six sense objects][238] so that the people [can] cultivate the inner virtue [of the mind]. Therefore he obtained the veneration from the kings[239] of two [successive] courts, and the people from the four quarters rushed toward him from afar [lit. from ten thousand *li*]. When he [i.e., Muyŏm] moved, it was always to [silently] use people with his chin,[240] when he was motionless, nobody entertained grudges against him. How could he not be the one who manifest himself in the chiliocosm as a response to half a millenium [in the age of the decline of the Dharma?]? What dissatisfaction can there possibly be regarding the explanation of returning to the beginning [referred to above]?[241] The Marquis Wencheng [of

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237 This is a reference to Silla's unification of the Korean peninsula by subduing and integrating the states of Koguryŏ and Paekche into Silla.

238 The six thieves headed by Māra (*liu mozei* 六魔賊) is a metaphor for the six sense objects (liu jing 六境), namely form 色, sound 聲, scent 香, taste 味, touch 觸, dharma 法, of a sentient being.

239 The term translated as "king" is literally "lord of a thousand [war] chariots" (*qianshengzhu* 千乘主), referring to the feudal lord of the realm. In the system of the Zhou dynasty, when the Son of Heaven had to engage in warfare within his territory, he mobilized ten thousand war chariots whereas the princes or feudal lords mobilized a thousand chariots. Therefore a prince or feudal lord was referred to as "lord of a thousand chariots" (*qiansheng zhu*). "One chariot" (*yisheng* 一乘) was also a military unit consisting of three elite soldiers (*jiashi* 甲士), seventy-two foot soldiers (*buzu* 步卒), and twenty-five charioteers (*cheshi* 車士).

240 To "use people with one's chin" means to manipulate or use people as one wishes. See, *Hanshu*, "Biography of Jia Yi."

241 "What dissatisfaction could there possibly be?" is an expression occurring in the *Mengzi* 孟子, Gongsunchou Chapter 公孫丑 下, "吾何以慊乎哉."

Liu; i.e., Zhang Liang][242] became the teacher of Emperor Gaozu of Han [i.e., Liu Bang][243] and greatly boasted about being raised to the rank of Marquis of Ten Tousand Households. But as the last descendant of Han chancellors, [Zhang Liang] indeed did very poorly.[244] Supposing that there is consistency in learning to become a [Daoist] immortal and as a result to be able to ascend to heaven in broad daylight: if one stops ascending on the back of a crane, this just [amounts to preserving] one's illusory body.[245] Moreover, how can this be equal with our Great Master [Muyŏm] who first rose far above the secular world, then saved sentient beings, and preserved his purity to the end? Since the ancient past, eulogy has been the form used to praise splendid virtue. This is a kind of gāthā.[246] To break the silence, I composed this eulogy, whose lyrics are as follows:

可道爲常道, 如穿草上露,
卽佛爲眞佛, 如攬水中月.
道常得佛眞, 海東金上人,
本枝根聖骨, 瑞蓮資報身.
五百年擇地, 十三歲離塵,
雜花引鵬路, 霥木浮鯨津.[其一]

[To view] the path that can be named as being the eternal path is like

242 "Marquis Wencheng of Liu" (留文成侯) was the title conferred by Emperor Gaozu of Han to Zhang Liang in recognition of his contributions to the founding of the Han Dynasty.

243 Emperor Gaozu, personal name Liu Bang, was the first emperor of the Han Dynasty.

244 Zhang Liang came from an aristocratic family of successive chancellors. His grandfather served three generations of the Han rulers as chancellors while his father served for two generations. Zhang Liang missed the opportunity to inherit his family's legacy as the Han state was annexed by the Qin state in 230 BCE as part of Qin's wars of unification.

245 This is a reference to Zhang Liang learning the art of becoming a divine immortal (*shenxianshu* 神仙術) from Huang Shigong.

246 The component *jie* 偈 in the chinese term *jiesong* 偈頌 is a transliteration of the Sanskrit term *gāthā*, meaning verse.

[trying to] pierce the dew on top of the grass.
[To view the progress on the path to becoming a] Buddha as being the real Buddha is like grasping at the moon [reflected] in the water.
The one who obtained the eternity of the path and the reality of the Buddha is [none other than] his eminence[247] [from the] Kim [clan] in Haedong.
His ancestral lineage is rooted in the "sacred bone"[248], the auspicious lotus[249] assisted the [birth of Muyŏm's] reward body.[250]
After five hundred years, he selected [Haedong as] the place [of his rebirth]. At the age of thirteen, he left the dust of the secular world.
He [studied] the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and following the trail of the Peng bird, he [crossed the sea] on a floating hollow tree [reaching] the whale-ford [i.e., Heishan Island].[251]

觀光堯日下, 巨筏悉能捨,
先達皆歎云, 苦行無及者.
沙之復汰之, 東流是天假.
心珠瑩麻谷, 目鏡燭桃野.[其二]

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247 The term rendered here as "his eminence" is a translation of *sang'in* (Ch. *shangren* 上人), a term applied to Buddhist monks since the Tang dynasty. A monk ideally was a man of superior wisdom, virtue, and conduct.

248 The "sacred bone" or *sŏnggol* 聖骨 was the highest level of the aristocratic rank system used in Silla. Sacred bone consisted only of a portion of the royal Kim family, possibly those considered to have royal blood on both sides. Until the "sacred bone" rank was abolished with the ascension of King Muyŏl in 654, only those holding sacred bone rank were permitted to assume the throne. This led to the crowning of Queen Sŏndŏk in 632 and Queen Chindŏk in 647, because no males of the sacred bone rank were available. This situation may have led to its subsequent abolition. See, Lee, Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea*, translated by Edward W. Wagner with Edward J. Shultz (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 50–51.

249 The auspicious lotus (*ruilian* 瑞蓮) refers to the lotus flower that Muyŏm's mother had received from the thousand-armed deity in her conception dream (Kr. *t'aemong* 胎夢).

250 The reward body (Ch. *baoshen* 報身, S. *sambhogakāya*: "body of enjoyment") refers to the body that practitioners and bodhisattvas attain upon reaching the highest dimensions of practice.

251 The whale-ford (*jing jin* 鯨津) is a reference to Heishan-dao (island).

He toured through the whole of China[252] and [having visited all great masters] he was able to abandon all great rafts.[253]
Those who preceded him in achieving [the path] all praised him saying that no one came close to him in [the practice of] austerities.
As persecution followed upon persecution,[254] his flow eastward[255] was [merely] due to Heaven's providence.
The jewel of his mind[256] brightly shone on Magu [Baoche], the mirror of his eyes illuminated the plain of peaches.[257]

既得鳳來儀, 衆翼爭追隨,
試覩龍變化, 凡情那測知.
仁方示方便, 聖住强住持,
松門遍掛錫, 巖徑難容錐.[其三]

Since the return of the phoenix [i.e., Muyŏm], the multitude of birds vied with each other to follow him.

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252 The term rendered as "China" is Yaori 堯日 (lit. "Yao's sun"), which is a contraction of the term Yaotian Shunri 堯天舜日 (lit. "Yao's heaven and Shun's day"), a reference to China as a harmonious society ruled by the two legendary emperors Yao and Shun.

253 A great raft (Ch. *jufa* 巨筏) is a metaphor for a great teacher. The Buddha's teaching is often compared to a raft that should be abandoned once the river is crossed. Here, "great raft" also refers to Magu Baoche, upon whose death, Muyŏm left.

254 The successive persecutions refer to the anti-Buddhist measures decreed and implemented during the Huichang era, which included the order for foreign monks to leave the Tang and return to their country of origin.

255 I.e., return back to the East, that is to Haedong.

256 The mind-jewel (Ch. *xinzhu* 心珠) is a metaphor for the Buddha-nature being pure and translucent like a gem.

257 The plain of peaches (Ch. *taoye* 桃野) refers to Silla, the "Eastern Country" where peaches grow in abundance. See *Gaoshoubenji* 高受本記, "The spine of Tosak-san in Haedong winds for five thousand *li*, and each of the branches north, south, east, and west are each three thousand *li* long. Therefore the eastern land is called peach" 東海桃索山 根盤五千里 東西南北枝 長各三千里 是以 東土謂之桃也.

As a test, he displayed the [magic feat of] transforming himself into a dragon, but how could ordinary sentient beings discern and know this?
In the benevolently reigned land,[258] he displayed skillful means,[259] [and the king] forcefully had him assume the abbotship of Sŏngju[-sa].
He suspended his walking staff on the pine-gate [terrace],[260] the narrow path on the mountain cliffs [to the monastery was so crowded with royal emissaries and visitors] that is was difficult even to place a gimlet onto it.

我非待三顧, 我非迎七步,
時行則且行, 爲緣付囑故.
二王拜下風, 一國滋甘露,
鶴出洞天秋, 雲歸海山暮.[其四]

Our [master] did not await the triple visit [of the king's envoys inviting him to the royal palace], and our [master] did not [bother to] make seven steps [to travel to the capital and] to welcome [the king].[261]
When the time was opportune to go he went [to see the king]. This was because [he was mindful] of the karmic affinity he had been entrusted with.
Two [successive] kings prostrated to his teaching, the whole country

258 I.e., the realm under the king's benevolent rule.

259 Skillful means (Ch. *fangbian* 方便, S. *upāya, upāya-kauśalya*) refers to teaching methods of Buddhism convenient and appropriate to a specific place or situation, and to the capacity of the audience.

260 The pine gate here refers to the monastery.

261 That Muyŏm did not make seven steps out of his hermitage to welcome the king is a reference to Muyŏm's visit on three occasions of the royal palace, which was solely for the sake of spreading the Dharma and as such for sentient beings, not an adulation of the king. "King Wenxuan of Northern Qi visited Sengchou. Sengchou sat cross-legged and did not (rise) to welcome him. His followers urged him to welcome (the king), but Sengchou said, 'In the past the venerable Piṇḍola welcomed King Aśoka, rising and walking seven paces so that the king lost his kingdom for seven years. Although I have little virtue I hope to gain blessings. 北齊文宣王 謁僧稠 稠趺坐不迎其徒有勸迎者 稠曰 昔賓頭盧尊者 迎阿育王 起行七步 致王失國七年 貧道 雖寡德冀獲福."

tasted his sweet dew.[262]
He was like the crane's appearance from his grotto-heaven[263] in autumn or like the return of the clouds to the mountains and the sea at sunset.

來貴乎葉龍, 去高乎冥鴻,
渡水陋巢父, 入谷超朗公,
一從歸島外, 三返遊壺中,
群迷漫臧否, 至極何異同.[其五]

The rarity of his coming was like that of dragon scales, the loftiness of his departure was like that of the swan at night.
In crossing the river, he made Chao Fu[264] look more narrow, in entering the mountain valleys, he surpassed [i.e., was more aloof] than Senglang.[265]
Ever since his return to the Outside Island,[266] he traveled to the royal palace[267] three times.

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262 Sweet dew (Ch. *ganlu* 甘露) is a translation for the Sanskrit word *amṛta* (lit. "no-death") the nectar, or ambrosia of the Vedic gods, which wards off old age and death. In Buddhism, it is used as a metaphor for the teaching of the Buddha. In pre-Buddhist China, the term "sweet dew" referred to the delicious dew that pervaded the realm during the rulership of a benevolent sage-king.

263 Grotto-heavens (Ch. *dongtian* 洞天) are a type of sacred Daoist site, usually caves, mountain hollows, or other underground spaces. See, Livia Kohn, ed. *Daoism Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2000). pp. 695–696.

264 Chao Fu 巢父 was a gentleman (*gaoshi* 高士) of the time of Emperor Yao 堯. He became a recluse in his old age, nesting in a tree. "陶唐高士, 山居不出, 年老以樹爲巢. Emperor Yao was so impressed by Chao Fu's virtue as a recluse that he tried to offer him the throne. Declining this, Chao Fu not only also washed out his ears in the river, but also, hearing that Xu You had washed out his own ears for the same reason upstream, refused to water his cattle in the stream.

265 Senglang (Ch. Senglang 僧朗; d.u.) was a monk active in China, (*Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 T. 2059.50. 354b). Muyŏm retired and lived secluded in mountains, which the stele extolls as being an example of transcending the world greater than Senglang, who also lived on mountains, but in the vicinity of the metropolis of Chang'an. "釋僧朗 常在京洛 乞飯饍 未嘗入山 今師則 還山故超也."

266 "Outside island" (Ch. *daowai* 島外) is a reference to Silla, or the Korean peninsula as a whole.

267 The term for royal palace here is "Center of the jar" (Ch. *huzhong* 壺中). The term occurs in the

Sentient beings are mired in passing judgement about what is right and wrong, but when one has reached the ultimate [state], what differences or identities could there be?

是道澹無味, 然須强飲食,
他酌不吾醉, 他飧不吾飽.
誡衆黜心何, 糠名復粃利,
勸俗飾身何, 甲仁復冑義.[其六]

This path is tranquil and insipid, but one must be compelled to drink and eat from it.
I am not intoxicated by what others drink; I am not satiated by what others eat.
He admonished the assembly [of monks], but what did he expel from their mind? -[Worldly] fame is like chaff, [material] profit is like the husks.
How did he exhort mundane lay people to cultivate their conduct? [By telling them to] take humaneness as their armor and to take righteousness as their helmet.

汲引無弃遺, 其實天人師.
昔在世間時, 擧國成瑠璃,
自寂滅歸後, 觸地生蒺蔾,
泥洹一何早, 今古所共悲.[其七]

In drawing out and leading [sentient beings] he did not abandon anyone, he was truly a teacher of gods and men.[268]
Formerly, when he dwelled in the world, the whole country was

Liexian zhuan 列仙傳 (Collected Biographies of Immortals), edited by Liu Xiang (c. 79–8 BCE), the first Daoist hagiography. "壺中比王宮也"

268 Teacher of gods and men (Ch. *tianren shi* 天人師; S. *śāstā deva-manuṣyāṇām*) is one of the ten epithets of the Buddha.

transformed into [a pure realm of] lapis lazuli.[269]
Ever after his return to quiescent extinction [i.e., nirvāṇa], wherever one touches the earth, there thorny bushes grow.
Why was his nirvāṇa so soon? At the present as in the past he is grieved by all.

> 甃石復刊石, 藏形且顯跡,
> 鵠塔點青山, 龜碑撑翠壁.
> 是豈向來心, 徒勞文字覷,
> 欲使後知今, 猶如今示昔.[其八]

His stūpa has been built and its inscription established, his bodily form is concealed and [yet] his traces[270] are displayed.
A swan tops his stūpa ion a green mountain, a turtle supports his stele on a jade-green wall.
How could this longing mind be glimpsed through futile written words?
I wish to make later generations to know the present, just like to show the past to those of the present.

> 君恩千載深, 師化萬代欽,
> 誰持有柯斧, 誰倚無絃琴.
> 禪境雖沒守, 客塵寧許侵,
> 鷄峯待彌勒, 將在東鷄林.[其九]

The favor of the ruler shall be profound [i.e., endure] for a thousand years, the transformation [i.e., teaching] of the master [i.e., Muyŏm] shall be admired for ten thousand generations.

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269 The text has only "lapis lazuli" 瑠璃, but this probably refers to the pure realm of lapis lazuli in the East (Ch. *dongfang jingliuli shijie* 東方淨瑠璃世界), the paradise of Bhaiṣajyaguru (Yaoshi rulai 藥師如來), the medicine Buddha. Here, by implication, Silla is identified with a Buddha-land and Muyŏm with a Buddha.

270 "Traces" (Ch. *ji* 跡) refers to his feats or biography (Ch. *xingji* 行跡) recorded on his stele inscription.

Who possesses an axe-handle,[271] who relies on a lute without strings?[272]
Although the realm of Sŏn is not something to be guarded, how could adventitious defilements[273] be permitted to invade [the mind]?
Awaiting Maitreya['s coming] on Cock's Foot Mountain [Kyebong],[274]
[that] place shall be in the Rooster Forest [i.e., Kyerim][275] in the East!

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271 Reference to the axe-handle occurs in the *Shi Jing* and is explained in the *Zhong Yong* 中庸 as follows: "The Master said 'The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered the Path. In the Book of Poetry, it is said, "In hewing an ax handle, in hewing an ax handle, the pattern is not far off." We grasp one ax handle to hew the other; and yet, if we look askance from the one to the other, we may consider them as apart. Therefore, the superior man governs men, according to their nature, with what is proper to them, and as soon as they change what is wrong, he stops.' 子曰: 道不遠人. 人之為道而遠人, 不可以為道.《詩》云:『伐柯伐柯, 其則不遠.』執柯以伐柯, 睨而視之, 猶以為遠. 故君子以人治人, 改而止.

272 To understand the depth of Muyŏm's achievement, one needs an axe-handle or a lute without strings.

273 Adventitious defilements (Ch. *kechen* 客塵, or fully: *kechen fannao* 客塵煩惱) refers to the adventitious or external nature of defilements. That is, the mind or Buddha-nature is originally and inherently pure and devoid of defilements. Defilements are produced by discriminatory thought. These are understood to be temporary and cleaned away by wisdom (prajñā), therefore the logograph for "guest" (Ch. *ke* 客) is used; the defilements are subtle and numerous, thus the logograph "dust" (Ch. *chen* 塵) is used.

274 Cock's Foot Mountain, here Jifeng 鷄峯, but usually referred to as Jizu-shan 雞足山 (S. Kukkuṭapāda-giri) is a mountain in Magadhā, Central India, on which Mahākāśyapa is said to have entered into nirvana, but where he is still supposed to be living and waiting for the coming of the next Buddha, Maitreya. The F*u fazang zhuan* says, "Kāśyapa, after he conferred the Dharma at the assembly [*saṁgīti*], took his bowl and robe and entered Cock's Foot Mountain, and its three peaks united into one, and only after Maitreya appears in the world would he come out of samādhi and offer these to him. After the final meeting he will climb the mountain with the great assembly, and he will snap his fingers and depart the world." 付法藏傳云 迦葉結集付法已 持應器與僧伽梨 入雞足山 三峯合爲一 乃至彌勒出世後 出定而奉獻也 末會後與大衆登山 彈指則方出世也

275 Rooster Grove (Kr. *Kyerim* 鷄林) was located near the royal palace of Silla in Kyŏngju. Kyerim also became a name for Silla itself. The original name of Kyerim was Sirim 始林. However, according to the *Samguk sagi*, Sirim was the site where the child Kim Alji, founder of the Kyŏngju Kim clan, was discovered. Found in a golden box accompanied by a rooster, he was adopted by the royal family.

從弟朝請大夫, 前守執事侍郎, 賜紫金魚袋, 臣, 崔仁滾, 奉敎, 書.

Composed upon royal order by the subject Ch'oe In-gon, Grand Master for Court Audiences, Former Vice Director of the Palace Domestic Service, and Recipient of the Purple-and-Gold Fish-Pouch.

His descendants became the later kings of Silla and the grove where he was found was renamed Kyerim, "Rooster Grove." The *Samguk yusa* gives a different origin of the term Kyerim. According to that text, the founder of Silla, Pak Hyŏkkŏse, was born at a stream called Kyejŏng 鷄井, "Rooster Well." It says that his future consort was born from a dragon that came to earth at another place called *Kyeryongsŏ* 鷄龍瑞, and for this reason the area was renamed Kyerim. The earliest recorded reference of Kyerim being used to designate Silla is from the Chinese histories. The *Tangshu* records that in 663 Tang Gaozong designated Silla as Kyerim Territory Area Command (鷄林州都督府) and Silla's King Munmu the Kyerimju Todok, Commander-in-chief of Kyerim Territory.

IV

STELE INSCRIPTION OF PŎPKYŎNG HYŎNHUI (忠州 淨土寺 法鏡大師 慈燈塔碑文)

4.
Stele Inscription of Pŏpkyŏng Hyŏnhui
忠州 淨土寺 法鏡大師 慈燈塔碑文

Stele Inscription of the Chadŭng Stupa for the Great Master Pŏpkyŏng at Chŏngt'o-sa in Ch'ungju.

有晉, 高麗國, 中原府, 故開天山, 淨土寺, 教諡法鏡大師, 慈燈之塔碑銘, 幷序.

Stele Inscription with preface to the Chadŭng ["Lamp of Compassion"] stūpa for the posthumously titled Great Master Pŏpkyŏng ["Dharma-Mirror"], formerly [abbot] at Chŏngt'o-sa on Kaech'ŏn-san, Koryŏ country, Chungwŏn superior prefecture, in the period of the [Later] Jin [Dynasty].[1]

太相檢校尚書, 左僕射, 前守兵部侍郎, 知翰林院事, 臣, 崔彦撝, 奉教, 撰,
沙粲, 前守興文監卿, 賜緋銀魚袋, 臣, 具足達, 奉教, 書.

Composed upon royal order by the subject Ch'oe Ŏn-hui,[2] grand councilor,[3]

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1 The Later Jin 晉 Dynasty (936–947) was one of the Five Dynasties during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period in China. It was founded by Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭.

2 Ch'oe Ŏn-hui 崔彦撝 (868–944) was a scholar official in the Late Silla and Early Koryŏ period, renowned for his writing skills and calligraphy. He studied in Tang China (from 885 to 909) and passed the Tang imperial examination, before returning to Silla and assuming office.

3 The grand councilor (*taixiang* 太相) corresponds to the third of the nine degrees of official ranks of Taebong 泰封 (state of Kungye), which was reorganized into the fourth rank of provincial assignment (*xiangzhi* 鄉職) during the rule of Sŏngjong in the Koryŏ dynasty. The official system (官制) of the Early Koryŏ inherited that of Taebong 泰封.

proofreader, royal secretary, Vice Director of the Left, former acting Vice Director in the Bureau of Military Personnel, and administrator of the Hanlin Academy.

Written out upon royal order by the subject Ku Chok-tal,[4] *sach'an*,[5] former acting Minister of the Directorate for Promoting Literature,[6] and Recipient of the Crimson-and-Silver Fish-Pouch.[7]

原夫, 曉月遐昇, 照雪於四方之外, 春風廣被, 揚塵於千嶺之旁. 然則木星著明, 散發生之玄霧, 青暈迴耀, 浮芳序之法雲, 或沍色凝寒, 或陽和解凍. 聚此太平之美, 激于離曰之暉, 所以, 二氣相承, 三光助化, 可謂麗天之影, 瞻望所宗, 此則弘之在言, 拾此於實, 嘗試論之, 尺璧非寶, 亡羊則唯貴寸陰. 玄珠是珍, 罔象則眞探秋露.

The moon at dawn rises afar and shines over the snow outside of the four quarters. The spring wind [blows] far and wide, scattering the dust at the edge of a thousand mountain ridges. Then the Wood Star [i.e., Jupiter][8]

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4 Ku Chok-tal 具足達 (d.u.) was a renowned calligrapher in the Late Silla and Early Koryŏ period. Along with Han Yun 韓允 and Min Sang-je 閔賞濟, he was considered as one of the Three Great Calligraphers of the Early Koryŏ dynasty. He inscribed the stele of Nangwŏn Kaech'ŏng 郎圓開淸 (854–930) at Pohyŏn-sa 普賢寺 in 940, and that of Pŏpkyŏng Kyŏngyu 法鏡慶猷 (871–921) at Chŏngt'o-sa 淨土寺. His style of calligraphy followed that of the famous early Tang calligrapher Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641).

5 *Sach'an* 沙粲 was the eight of the seventeen official ranks in Silla and seems to have been in use in the early Koryŏ dynasty as well.

6 The minister of the Directorate for Promoting Literature (*Hŭngmun kamgyŏng* 興文監卿) is mentioned in the *Samguk Sagi* 三國史記 vol. 40, "Treatise on Official Posts" (*chikwan chi* 職官志 下) but is not explained in detail. It can be inferred to refer to a position subordinated to the literary institution of the Hanlin Academy that had been established since the Late Silla period.

7 Crimson-and-Silver Fish-Pouch (*feiyin yudai* 緋銀魚袋) refers to the color of the dresses and belts that Tang officials weared to indicate the rank of their office.

8 In Chinese cosmology, Jupiter is referred to as the "Wood Star" (Ch. *muxing* 木星) based on the Five Elements theory. In Indian cosmology, the planet is referred to as Bṛhaspati, the "Lord of increase."

shines brightly and scatters away the arising dark mist.[9] The blue halo [of the sun][10] shines afar and causes the unfolding fragrance of the Dharma-cloud to float. Sometimes the landscape is frozen, sometimes the warm weather thaws the frost. Gathering the beauty of this peaceful [sight] causes the effulgence of the radiance of Revata.[11] Therefore, the two forces [of yin and yang][12] complement each other. The three luminaries [i.e., sun, moon, and stars][13] assist [each other] in transformation. It could even be said that the reflection of the magnificent heaven [i.e., the celestial bodies][14] is the principle to which everything looks. Then as expanding on that [truth] is [found expressed] in words, one has to pick up these [words in order] to access the real. Attempting to discuss it, [it is like the sayings] "a foot of jade is not a treasure"[15] [or] "[many pathways cause one] to loose a sheep."[16] These

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9 Dark mist (*xuan wu* 玄霧) is a metaphor for unauspicious signs.

10 The blue halo of the sun (*qing yun* 青暈) is a metaphor for an auspicious presage.

11 Revata (Liyue 離曰) was one of the ten principal disciples of Śākyamuni, said to be a younger brother of Śāriputra, who was known for the intensity of his meditation practice and thus referred to as "foremost disciple in the practice of dhyana." Revata also refers to one of the twenty-eight Indian constellations, corresponding with the "house" (*shi* or 室 *shixing* 室星), namely the Mekā 斗牛女虛危室壁 or Vega. Mekā (Ch. *douniunü* 斗牛女), lit. "woman with the face of a cow") was born because her parents had prayed for the birth of a child to that star.

12 The two energies (*er qi* 二氣) refers to *yin* and *yang*. The *Hainanzi* 淮南子 states that "Heaven has two energies forming the rainbow. Moreover, as these two energies intermingle, they evolve into the myriad of things."

13 The three luminaries (Ch. *san guang* 三光) refer to the sun, moon, and stars. See *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Shuojian Chapter 說劍篇: "Above, its law is taken from the round heaven, and is in accordance with the three luminaries; below, its law is taken from the square earth, and is in accordance with the four seasons; between, it is in harmony with the minds of the people, and in all the parts of the state there is peace." 上法圓天以順三光, 下法方地以順四時, 中和民意以安四鄉

14 The reflection of the majestic sky refers to reflection of the sun, moon, and stars. See Chengguan's 澄觀 *Huayanjing wangfuxu* 華嚴經往復序: "In searching for this profound teaching, having surveyed the other sutras, this is just like the shining of Revata in the heavens, stealing the brilliance of the many luminaries, or like [Mt.] Sumeru that straddles the oceans and subtracts from the height of all peaks" 尋斯玄旨 却覽餘經 其猶杲日麗天 奪衆景之耀 須彌橫海 落群峯之高.

15 "A foot of jade is not a treasure" (*chibi feibao* 尺璧非寶) originates from the expression "Jade has a

indicate that the only precious commodity is time. The black pearl is precious and Wang Xiang truly searched for it[17] in the autumn dew.

故知儒風則詩惟三百, 老教則經乃五千. 孔譚仁義之源, 聃演玄虛之理. 然而雖念忘□, 敢言得理. 此則域中之教, 方內之譚, 曷若正覺道成, 知一心之可得, 眞如性淨, 在三際之非殊. 故知澡慧六通, 不生不滅, 凝情三昧, 無取無行, 盖因方便之門, 猶認秘微之義, 事惟善誘, 心在眞宗.

Therefore know that the teaching of Confucianism consists in merely three hundred verses and that the teaching of Laozi is in the five thousand [characters] of the *[Daode]jing*. Confucius talked about the origin of humaneness and righteousness, Lao Dan [i.e., Laozi] expounded the principle of arcane emptiness.[18] But although they thought about [the principle of] oblivion, how could they dare to say that they apprehended

price, but time is priceless" found in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, Yuandaolun Chapter 原道論, as "聖人不貴尺之璧, 而重寸之陰, 時難得而易失也."

16 The word "losing a sheep" (*wangyang* 亡羊) is an abbreviation for "losing one's sheep because of multiple paths" (*duoqi wangyang* 多岐亡羊). The implication is that multiple paths make it impossible to track down and catch a fleeing sheep because one does not know which way it went. If the wrong path is chosen, the animal will only get farther away. This proverb refers to a situation where one is confronted with so many choices that one cannot decide how to proceed.

17 The term "black pearl" (*xuanzhu* 玄珠) first occurs in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "Heaven and Earth" Chapter (Tiandi 天地). According to this chapter, the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黄帝) lost the black pearl when climbing the Kunlun Mountain. Since he cherished the black pearl very much, the Yellow Emperor sent the blind Wang Xiang 罔象 to search for it, and the latter finally found them. "Wang Xiang" is a metaphorical name. "Xiang" indicates the form 象, and "Wang" 罔 is interchangeable with "no", so "Wang Xiang" means "without form." Thus "no form" refers to being formless, or having no form in one's mind. If the mind is empty, the "Dao" manifests itself spontaneously.

18 Arcane emptiness (*xuanxu* 玄虛) is a term describing truth as being arcane, dark (i.e., *xuan* 玄) and empty or void (*xu* 虛). It refers to truth as being profound and subtle, inscrutable, and as such utterly empty (*xuwu* 虛無) and in complete nonaction (*wuwei* 無爲), as described by Laozi and Zhuangzi. See *Hanfeizi* 韓非子, Jielao Chapter 解老: "The saint contemplated its arcane emptiness, used its universal operation, and so arbitrarily named it the Way" 聖人 觀其玄虛 用其周行 强字之曰道.

the principle [i.e., truth]? How, then, could the teachings within the domain [of the world],[19] or the discussions within the realm[20] [possibly lead to the] obtainment of correct awakening and accomplishment of the path, and to knowing that the One Mind can be obtained? The pure nature of true suchness is not something different from being in the three time periods.[21] Consequently one should know that pure wisdom and [its concomitant] six supernormal powers[22] are neither produced nor extinguished, and that concentrated samādhi is [the state of] no-grasping and no-practice. By means of the gate of skillful means, one understands the meaning of what is secret and subtle, and engages only in guiding well [sentient beings], as one's mind conforms to the true teaching.

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19 "The teachings within the domain" (*yuzhong zhi jiao* 域中之教) is a generic term used to refers to all different (religious) teachings found within the world.

20 The discussions within the realm (*fangnei zhi tan* 方內之譚) refers to the various theories found within the four quarters (*sifang* 四方) of the known world.

21 The three time periods (*sanji* 三際) refers to past, present, future. As there is no temporal sequence between them, since they are present at the same time, they are referred to as "not being different." In the context of Yogācara (*xiangzong* 相宗), the three time periods are associated with the four states of phenomena (*sixiang* 四相), namely: production (*sheng* 生) as having occurred in the past, existence (*zhu* 住) and change or decay (*yi* 異) as occurring in the present, while annihilation (*mie* 滅) occurs in the future. The Huayan school (*xingzong* 性宗) does not differentiate the sequence of the four states of phenomena, but views the past and the future as happening synchronically.

22 The six supernormal powers (Ch. *liutong* 六通 for *liuzhong shentong* 六種神通) refers to a set of six supernormal abilities possessed by a buddha or bodhisattva. These are, unimpeded bodily action (神境通, 神足通), the power of divine vision 天眼通, wherein they can observe the full course of passage by sentient beings through the six destinies; the power of divine hearing 天耳通, with which they are able to hear all the words of suffering and joy experienced by living beings in the six destinies; the power of awareness of the minds of others 他心通, whereby they know the thoughts of all the beings who pass through the six destinies; the power of the knowledge of previous lifetimes 宿命通, whereby they know the events of countless kalpas of previous lifetimes experienced by themselves as well as all the beings in the six destinies; the power of the extinction of contamination 漏盡通, whereby they completely extinguish all the afflictions of the three realms and thus are no longer subject to rebirth in the three realms.

然而至道希夷, 匪稱謂之能鑒, 玄宗杳邈, 非名言之所鈐. 於是, 各守一隅, 難通三返. 筌蹄之外, 慧業所資, 而又雖渴鹿趣炎, 謂至清池之畔, 盲龜游沼, 猶逢浮木之中. 則知法本不生, 因生起見, 見其可取法, 則常如然, 則淨零法雨之滋, 便清熱惱, 虔謁微塵之衆, 俄濟迷流.

But the ultimate path [i.e., truth] is rare and distant, it cannot be mirrored in words. The arcane teaching [of Sŏn][23] is obscure and remote, it is not something that can be pinned down by names and words. Consequently, [Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi] each adhere to his respective [doctrinal] position, making it difficult for them to understand each other and return [to the one universal teaching].[24] To promote [i.e., cultivate] the deeds of wisdom outside of the trap and snare [of language],[25] is like a thirsty deer running towards a heat haze to reach [what it mistakes as being] the bank of a clear pond[26] or like [the likelihood of] a blind turtle swimming in the ocean [lit., "a pond"] to come across a floating tree [and put its neck within the hole of it].[27] If one realizes that dharmas originally are not produced, [but that] it has always been the case that one apprehends dharmas because one has given

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23 The arcane teaching (*xuanzhong* 玄宗) refers to Sŏn.

24 Literally, "threefold return" (*san fan* 三返), a reference to Confucius, Laozi, and Zhuangzi as each one adhering to their limited teachings, which makes it difficult for these three teachings (*sanjiao* 三教) to be mutually compatible and revert to a single truth.

25 The *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Waiwu Chapter 外物 states: "The fish trap exists because of the fish; once you've gotten the fish, you can forget the trap. The rabbit snare exists because of the rabbit; once you've gotten the rabbit, you can forget the snare. Words exist because of meaning; once you've gotten the meaning, you can forget the words. Where can I find a man who has forgotten words so I can have a word with him." 荃者所以在魚、得魚而忘荃. 蹄者所以在兔、得兔而忘蹄. 言者所以在意、得意而忘言. 吾安得夫忘言之人、而与之言哉. See Burton Watson, Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, Columbia University Press, 1968, p. 302.

26 A thirsty deer which mistakes a mirage for water is a metaphor for human illusion.

27 The likelihood of a a blind turtle to find a floating lumber in the vast ocean is a metaphor for the extreme rarity of a sentient being to be reborn as a human, or to meet with a buddha and his teaching.

rise to [wrong] views, then the taste of the pure pouring Dharma rain[28] will cool down [i.e., eliminate] the scorching defilements. Reverently paying respect to crowds [as numerous as] minute dust, one soon will save the deluded crowds.

菩提涅槃, 法性常住, 用此莊嚴佛土, 成就衆生, 度天人, 教菩薩, 方思妙用, 可謂周勤. 然則昔者, 如來爲五比丘, 說三乘教, 化緣已畢, 尋以遷儀, 臨涅槃之時, 以無上法寶, 密傳迦葉, 流布世間曰, 護念勤修, 無令斷絶.

Bodhi, nirvāṇa, and dharma-nature[29] are eternally abiding. By using these to adorn the Buddha-land, sentient beings [are made] to achieve [awakening], gods and men are saved, bodhisattvas are taught. Only then one can consider the sublime function as being worth of being referred to as an "ubiquitous effort." Consequently, in the past when the Tathāgata, having [delivered his first sermon] for the five bhikṣus,[30] and [subsequently] explained the teaching of the three vehicles[31] [thereby] completing the task of transforming [i.e., teaching sentient beings], as he was about to shift his deportment [i.e., pass away] at the time of approaching nirvāṇa, he secretly transmitted the unsurpassed Dharma-treasure to [Mahā-] Kāśyapa, [so that the latter may] disseminate it in the world, and said: "Protect and keep in mind [the teaching], diligently cultivate [it]. Do not let [the lineage of Chan] be severed."

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28 The Dharma rain (Ch. *fayu* 法雨) is a metaphor for the Buddhist teachings dispensed freely and indiscriminately to all sentient beings. Like the rain which falls indiscriminately on and sustains all forms of plant life, the Buddhist teachings benefit all sentient beings.

29 The dharma nature (Ch. *faxing* 法性, S. *dharmatā*) refers to the true nature of reality. As such dharma nature denotes things as they are; a concept equivalent to thusness (Ch. *zhenru* 眞如, S. *tathatā*).

30 The five bhikṣus refers to the five mendicants who first practiced asceticism with Śākyamuni, and then later were the recipients of his first sermon delivered at the Deer Park, subsequently becoming his first disciples. They are: Kauṇḍinya, Aśvajit, Bhadrika, Daśabala-Kāśyapa, and Mahānāman.

31 The teachings of the three vehicles (Ch. *sansheng jiao* 三乘教; S. *triyāna-nirdeśa*) refers to the vehicles of *śrāvaka* 聲聞, *pratyekabuddha* 緣覺 and *bodhisattva* 菩薩.

自大迦葉, 得其法眼, 付屬阿難. 祖祖相傳, 心心共保. 爰有應眞菩薩, 圓覺大師. 東□中□, 非人不授. 至唐承襲者, 竊惟六人, 摩傳可, 可傳璨, 璨傳信, 信傳忍, 忍傳能. 能其後分而爲二, 其一曰讓, 其一曰思.

Mahākāśyapa, having received the Dharma-eye,[32] entrusted it to Ānanda.[33] It then was successively transmitted from patriarch to patriarch and kept preserved from mind to mind. Thereupon there was the bodhisattva Worthy and True,[34] the Great Master Yuanjue[35] [who traveled] East to China. [But] if there were no [worthy] people, he did not transmit [the Dharma]. Up to the the Tang [dynasty], there were only six persons [who had inheritedthe Chan lineage]. Bodhidharma transmitted it to Huike,[36] Huike transmitted it to Sengcan,[37] Sengcan transmitted it to Daoxin,[38] Daoxin

32 The Dharma-eye (Ch. *fayan* 法眼), also "treasury of the true Dharma eye" (*zheng fayan zang* 正法眼藏) is a term for the teaching of the Chan school that lies outside words and letters. See Liuzu tanjing 六祖壇經 T. 2008. 48. 358a18.

33 Ānanda was a cousin and personal attendant of Śākyamuni Buddha. Among the main disciples of the Buddha, Ānanda had the most retentive memory and most sūtras in the Pāli Sutta Pitaka are attributed to his recollection of the Buddha's teachings during the First Buddhist Council. For that reason, he was known as the Guardian of the Dharma. In the Chan tradition, Ānanda is considered to be the second Indian patriarch. He is often depicted with the Buddha alongside Mahākāśya, the first Indian patriarch.

34 Worthy and true (*ŭngjin*, 應眞), Ch. *yingzhen*, is an an old translation of the term *arhat*, literally meaning someone worthy [of respect].

35 Great Master Yuanjue 圓覺 (lit. "Perfect Awakening") was the posthumous title conferred by the Tang Emperor Daizong 代宗 on Bodhidharma, putative founder of the Chan school in China.

36 Dazu Huike 大祖慧可 (487–593) is considered the Second Patriarch of Chinese Chán and the twenty-ninth since Gautama Buddha.

37 Sengcan 僧璨 (?–606) is known as the Third Chinese Patriarch of Chan after Bodhidharma and thirtieth patriarch after Gautama Buddha. He is best known as the putative author of the famous Chan poem, *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (Inscription on Faith in the Mind).

38 Daoxin 道信 (580–651) was the fourth Chan Patriarch, following Sengcan 僧璨 and preceding Hongren 弘忍. The teachings of Daoxin (and his successor Hongren) are known as the East Mountain Teachings (*Dong-shan famen* 東山法門), a precursor to the flowering of Chan on a national scale at the beginning of the eighth century. Daoxin was the first Chan master to settle at one spot

transmitted it to Hongren,[39] and Hongren transmitted it to Huineng.[40] After Huineng, [the transmission] was divided into two [branches]: one was that of [Nanyue] Huairang[41] and the other one that of Qingyuan Xingsi.[42]

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for an extended period of time, developing a stable community life which would lead to monastic Chan communities throughout China.

39 Hongren 弘忍 (602–675) was the fifth Chan Patriarch. His teaching and that of his predecessor Daoxin became known as the "East Mountain Teachings", but Hongren was the more prominent of the two. He was held in high esteem by later Chan figures in the ancient capital cities of Chang'an and Luoyang in the early eighth century, when Chan moved from a rural base to the centre of Chinese power in the major urban areas and the imperial court. The East Mountain Teachings were seen as the "authentic" Chan Buddhist teachings and were promoted by Hongren's student, Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), the most prominent Buddhist monk of his time. Hongren's significance can be noted by the fact that a compilation of his teachings, presumably shortly after his death, the *Treatise on the Essentials of Cultivating the Mind*, (*Xiuxin yaolun* 修心要論) is the earliest collection of the teachings of a Chan master. However, Hongren transmitted the Chan lineage not to his long-standing disciple Shenxiu, but to Huineng, the Sixth and last Chan Patriarch. On Hongren and his predecessors, see John R. McRae, (2003) *Seeing through Zen: Encounter, Transformation, and Genealogy in Chinese Chan Buddhism*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

40 Dajian Huineng 大鑒慧能 (638–713) was one of the most important figures in the entire Chan tradition, traditionally viewed as the Sixth and last Patriarch of Chan. Huineng is said to have advocated an immediate and direct approach to Buddhist practice and enlightenment, and in this regard, is considered the founder of the "Sudden Enlightenment" (頓教) Southern Chan school (Nanzong chan 南宗禪). His foremost students were Nanyue Huairang 南岳懷讓 (677–744) and Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (?–740). After Huineng, the Chan lineage became subdivided into two main lineages: one represented by Nanyue Huairang 南岳懷讓 (677–744), the other one by Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (?–740). These subsequently evolved into the Linji and Caodong lineages. Huineng's position as sixth patriarch and acceptance as ancestor or founder of all subsequent Ch'an lineages was to a large extent the result of the propaganda by Shenhui (684–758). On Huineng, see John Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng, the Sixth Patriarch: Hagiography And Biography in Early Ch'an* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

41 Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744) gave Dharma transmission to six individuals, the most prominent being Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788).

42 Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (d. 740) gave Dharma transmission to Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 (8th c.). All existing branches of Chan are traditionally viewed to descend either from Shitou Xiqian or from his contemporary Mazu Daoyi.

其下昭昭, 此則何述焉. 洎于像末, 逾益澆訛, 大道云喪, 微言且絶, 則非探奇上士, 契理眞人, 何以一匡頽俗, 再□法輪. 必有涉進玄鄉, 心行靜處, 時時間出代, 有其人者焉.

The [transmission lineages] beneath these [two masters, i.e., Nanyue Huairang and Qingyuan Xingsi] are radiantly evident. What need could there be to [further] describe them? [Now that we have] reached the semblance Dharma age and the degenerate Dharma age, [the world has become] even more frivolous and deceitful. The great path[43] can be said to have been lost and the profound words [of the Buddha][44] to have been severed off. If not for superior disciples seeking the wonderful [teaching of Buddhism] and true persons[45] in concordance with the principle [i.e. truth], how could the degenerated customs be rectified and the Dharma wheel be put in motion again? It is necessary to advance into the arcane realm [of truth][46] and to [settle one's] mental activities in a quiet place. Every once and then, there will be an [outstanding] individual who will appear in a generation.

大師法諱玄暉, 俗姓, 李氏. 其先周朝, �德柱史. 逃榮苦縣, 地靈知有, 猶龍之聖郷鄉. 天寶, 昔聞歎鳳之君, 故言匪魯司寇, 無以知之者也. 遠祖, 初自聖唐, 遠征遼左, 從軍到此, 苦役忘歸, 今爲全州南原人也. 父諱德順, 尤明老易, 雅好琴詩. 當白駒捿谷之時, 是鳴鶴在陰之處, 高尚其事, 素無宦情.

The Great Master's Dharma-name was Hyŏnhui [lit., 'Arcane Sunlight'], his secular surname was Yi. His ancestor was [a descendant of] the Zhou

43 The great path (Ch. *dadao* 大道) is a generic term referring to the Buddhist path, the Buddhist teachings, or truth tout court.

44 The profound words (Ch. *weiyan* 微言) refer to the the profound teaching of the Buddha.

45 The true person (Ch. *zhenren* 眞人) is a term of Daoist origin, referring to a sage who is completely without artifice. In Buddhism, it refers to a person who embodies truth, an arhat, a bodhisattva, or a buddha.

46 The term "arcane realm" (Ch. *xuanxiang* 玄鄉, lit. "arcane homeland) refers to the realm of truth.

Dynasty[47] imperial archivist [Laozi].[48] He escaped from Rongku County. The spirit of the earth knew that [he was to become a great individual]. It was the same as [in the case] of Zou, the birthplace of the sage of the dragons [Mengzi].[49] Heaven formerly heard the laments about the absence of the phoenix.[50] Therefore it is said that if not for the Minister of Justice of Lu [i.e., Confucius],[51] there was no one else who realized that. When the imperial Tang [armies] conducted a military campaign to Liaodong, his [i.e., Kyŏnghyu's] distant ancestor who took part in the military expedition arrived here [on the Korean peninsula]. The hardships of military service made him forget to return [to China] and now [his descendants have been naturalized as] habitants of Namwŏn, in Chŏnju [Prefecture]. His father's taboo name was [Chang] Tŏk-sun. He was particularly well versed in Laozi['s *Daodejing*] and in the *Book of Changes*. He had a refined predilection for the lute and poetry. At that time, when he was like "a white colt inhabiting a valley"[52] and like

47 It was during the Zhou 周 Dynasty (1046–256 B.C.E.) that Chinese philosophy developed, beginning in the sixth century BCE. The greatest Chinese philosophers active in and during the Zhou Dynasty were Confucius and Laozi. Other important philosophers included Mozi, Mencius, Han Fei, and Xun Zi, to name but a few.

48 The imperial archivist (Ch. *zhu[xia]shi* 柱下史) refers to Laozi 老子 who held this office early on in his career.

49 The sage of the dragons (*long zhi sheng* 龍之聖) refers to Mengzi 孟子 (372–289 BCE; 385–303/302 BCE) the eminent philosopher who was arguably the most famous Confucian after Confucius himself. Zouxiang 鄒鄉 was Mengzi's place of birth in the State of Lu 魯, present-day Shandong province, only thirty kilometres south of Qufu, Confucius' birthplace.

50 The phoenix (Ch. *feng* 鳳) was a mythical bird and the feminine counterpart to the dragon. Its rare appearance was said to foreshadow a great event or bear testimony to the greatness of a ruler. Thus, sighing at the absence of the phoenix is a metaphor for lamenting the absence of a virtuous ruler. The *Lunyu* 論語, Zihan Chapter子罕, states that "The Feng bird does not come; the river sends forth no map: it is all over with me!" (鳳鳥不至, 河不出圖, 吾已矣乎.)

51 Minister of Justice of Lu refers to Confucius. Confucius is said to have risen to the position of Justice Minister in Lu at the age of fifty-three. The Minister of Justice (*sikou* 司寇) was one of the six ministers at the royal court of Lu and the head of the ministry of justice. See, Hucker 5671.

52 A "white colt inhabiting a valley" refers to a talented individual who refuses the invitation to

"the young of a crane hidden in the shadows and responding to the cry of his mother."[53] Even though his loftiness [of character] was known in the world, he constantly was without the ambition to serve as a government official.

母傅氏, 假寐之時, 須臾得夢, 阿嬰布施, 證鳩摩羅馱之祥, 聖善因緣, 呈鶴勒夜那之瑞, 歿賢曾爾, 唯我亦然. 況又在孕之時, 十有三月, 免懷之際, 元正伍時, 以乾符六年, 孟陬之朔, 誕生. 大師生有聖姿, 幼無兒戲. 行惟合掌, 坐乃趺跏, 畫墁堆砂, 必模像塔. 分飡汲水, 須給虫魚. 然則因覩牛涔, 冀游鼇壑, 潛辭塵世, 實欲出家, 聞於二親, 志切且慊. 父母謂曰, "今思前夢, 宛若同符, 始覺囊因, 猶如合契, 汝前佛所度, 汝亦度之, 任你東西, 早登佛位, 導師慈父."

His mother's clan name was Pu. When she dozed for a little while, she dreamed that a wet nurse [provided] a donation. This authenticated the auspicious [premonition?] of [the Chan patriarch] Kumaratha.[54] This august and wholesome karmic affinity [connecting mother and son] [corresponds

come to court and assume a government post, instead opting to remain in the countryside. A reference to this occurs in the *Shijing* 詩經, Minor Odes (Xiaoya 小雅): "The brilliant white colt, Is there in that empty valley." (皎皎白駒、在彼空谷).

53 The image conjured here is that of a young crane hidden in the shadows of a tree responding to the cry of his mother. This is a metaphor for a virtuous or talented individual living in seclusion who –at the appropriate time– replies to the call of the ruler by coming forward and assisting him in government. See *Zhouyi* 周易, Zhongfu Chapter 中孚: "'Here hid, retired, cries out the crane; Her young's responsive cry sounds there. Of spirits good I drain this cup; With thee a cup I'll freely share." "鳴鶴在陰, 其子和之, 我有好爵, 吾與爾靡之."

54 Kumaratha (Ch. Jiumoluotuo 鳩摩羅馱 or Kumāralabdha) is the nineteenth of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs of Chan. Born in a Brahmin family in Indo-Scythia, he had been Īśvaradeva (自在天人) in a previous life, but upon having seen and become attached to a bodhisattva's magnificent garland of flowers and necklace of precious stones (*huaman yingluo* 華鬘瓔珞) he fell downwards into the heaven of Indra, the heavens of the thirty-three devas, where he heard Indra preaching the *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtra*. Because of the merit he obtained by hearing that sūtra, Īśvaradeva was able to ascend into the Brahmanloka, from where he then subsequently went to Madhyadeśa where he met Jayata (闍夜多) whom he took as his disciple and transmitted the Dharma. Jayata thus became the twentieth Indian patriarch of Chan (闍夜多尊者). See *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T. 2076.51.212c.

to] the auspiciousness granted to [the Chan patriarch] Haklena.[55] [The auspiciousness of] the defunct worthies already being thus, I too [think it to] be like this [as well]. Furthermore, having been pregnant for a period of thirteen months, when the time came to deliver [the child], it was the fifth watch of Yuanzheng, in the sixth year of the Ganfu era [879], on the first day of the first month of the lunar year, [the master] was born. The Great Master had an innate sacred appearance, and at a young age he did not play with children. When he walked, he did so with palms together, when he sat, he did so in the crosslegged posture. He painted on walls and heaped sand, always imitating the resemblance of images and stūpas. He distributed food and drew water in order to provide it to insects and fishes. But then, having seen [that it was impossible for a big fish to live] in the puddle [of the trail] of an ox,[56] he longed to swim in the ocean [beneath the turtle-supported island of immortals][57] and [thus to] stealthily leave the world of dust, for he really wanted to leave the household [and become a monk]. As he informed his parents of his sincere aspiration, [they] were, for the time being, regretful. His parents said, "Now thinking about our previous dream, it seems just like this is a conformation of [your karmic affinity with the Buddha]. You previously [in your previous existence] have been saved by the Buddha, and [now] you likewise will save [us]. [Thus] we allow you to leave [lit. travel east and west]. May you quickly ascend to the level of the Buddha and become the guiding teacher and compassionate father [of all sentient beings]."

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55 Haklena 鶴勒那尊者 is the twenty-third of the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs of Chan. See *Liuzu fabao tanjing* (Platform Sutra),T. 2008.48.361c.

56 "A big fish is in the puddle of the footprint of an ox" (牛跡之涔 無尺之鯉): as it is impossible for a large fish to live in the small amount of water gathered in the footprint of an ox, so it is impossible for a talented person to flourish in a narrowly confined place. The phrase and its explanation occurs in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, Chuzhen xun Chapter."

57 The term rendered as "ocean" is *ohak* (Ch. *aohe* 鼇壑). It actually refers to a mythical mountain (a.k,a. *Ao-shan* 鼇山) on the humped shell of a giant sea-turtle in the middle of the ocean, which is the abode of Daoist immortals.

便是其人, 所以永遂離塵, 尋山陟嶺東去, 獲投靈覺山寺. 謁深光大師, 傾盖如新, 忻然自得."追念東山之法, 實謂得人, 倍切歡娛, 寧知昏旭, 闡揚吾道, 不在他人."

Thereupon this person [the monk] permanently departed from [the secular] world of dust, seeking mountains and crossing over mountain ridges, going east, and finally reaching the mountain monastery of Yŏnggak-sa.[58] [There] he met the Great Master Simgwang,[59] and at their first meeting, they talked together as if they were old friends.[60] The monk rejoiced and gained understanding by himself. [Simgwang] remembered the teaching of the East Mountain,[61] and [as he] truly had found a [worthy] disciple, he was very joyful. How could one discern between dusk and dawn? [He said,] "No one else but you can expound and propagate my teaching."

所以仰惟祖宗, 仍是崇嚴之子, 猶認先系, 亦爲麻谷之孫也, 足見聖道, 所傳曹溪爲祖, 代代相契, 至于大師, 所以來自江西, 派於海左海隅, 聖住, 天下無雙, 於是, 許其探玄, 殷勤學佛, 不出蓮宇, 常住草堂, 大師實勞我心, 談不容口, 後生可畏.

So as I elevate my thoughts to [our] ancestors [i.e., patriarchs], still [they] are the sons of Bodhidharma [lit., sons of Chongyan],[62] and likewise if we

58 Yŏnggak-san-sa 靈覺山寺 was a monastery located south of Yŏngdong 永同 County, Northern Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.

59 Great master Simgwang 深光大師 was the senior fellow practitioner (*shixiong* 師兄) of the Great master Daegyŏng 大鏡大師 Yŏŏm 麗嚴 and a disciple of Muyŏm. See "Chiho Pori-sa Taegyŏng Taesa pimun" 砥平 菩提寺 大鏡大師碑文.

60 The term *qinggai* 傾蓋 literally means to stop and incline one's carriage so as to engage in conversation with a person one has just met for the first time and by chance. Specifically, it refers to Confucius' first meeting with Cheng Ben 程本, with whom he talked as if they were old friends. See *Kongzi jiayu* [Sayings of the Family of Confucius].

61 The Dharma of the East Mountain (Kr. *Tongsan chi pōb* 東山之法) refers to the teachings attributed to Hongren 弘忍 and Daoxin 道信, the fourth and fifth patriarchs of Chan.

62 The original term occurring here is Chongyan 崇嚴, which is synonymous with Chongling (Chong Range)崇嶺, and refers to the Cave of Shaolin (Xiaolin ku 小林窟 or Shaolin ku 少林窟) on

consider the previous lineage, they also are the grandsons of Magu [Baoche].[63] This is sufficient to show that the noble path has been transmitted [from] Caoxi [Huineng] as ancestor, successively from generation to generation in mutual concordance, up to the Great Master [Pŏpkyŏng]. Thus from Jiangxi [the Dharma-lineage] flowed over to the left side and corner of the sea [i.e., Silla],[64] [where at] Sŏngju-sa, [Muyŏm] was matchless in the world. Thereupon he [Pŏpkyŏng] was granted permission to investigate the arcane [principle of Chan]. He diligently studied the [teachings of the] Buddha, in the monastery ["lotus house"] without ever going outside, always dwelling in the grass-hut. The Great Master [Simgwang] truly made me to exert my mind, he did not permit me to discuss [it]. [Indeed, as] a disciple [of the Buddha] he was awesome.

其德惟新, 自非宿植善芽, 生知靈性, 其孰能至於此. 乾寧五年, 受具於伽倻山寺, 旣而戒珠更淨, 油盔彌堅. 修善逝之禪, 靈臺不動, 契文殊之慧, 照境無爲, 演三藏之文, 解行相應, 開四分之律, 勤修兩存. 所以, 問詰絶吟, 吐言尊道, 口不談俗, 身猶蘊眞. 然則窮理在三, 體元含弌, 必能興仁, 壽域拯物, 阽危此時, 雖聖運三千而艱期百六, 火辰照地, 金虎司方, 此際風聞.

His virtue was [increasingly] revitalized. Who could possibly reach this state without having planted good sprouts [in a] former existence and thus become endowed with the spiritual characteristic of innate knowledge?[65] Having

Chong-shan 崇山 where Bodhidharma allegedly dwelled. As such the expression "sons of Chongyan 崇嚴之子" refers to Bodhidharma's disciples.

63 Magu Baoche 麻谷寶徹 was a disciple of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一.

64 The left side of the sea (*haizuo* 海左) refers to the east side, since, from the viewpoint of the Chinese emperor in the north facing south, the east is on his left side. The corner of the sea (*haiyu* 海隅) refers to the land on the eastern periphery of the sea, again from the Chinese viewpoint, and refers to Silla. Thus haizuo and haiyu are referring to the Korean peninsula, perhaps better known as Haidong 海東.

65 Innate knowledge (*shengzhi* 生知) is an abbreviated form of *shenger zhizhi* 生而知之.

received the full precepts at the monastery on Kaya-san [i.e., Haein-sa][66] in the fifth year of the Ganning era (898),[67] he subsequently purified even more [his keeping of] the precepts [lit., the lustrous jewel of the precepts], [his deportment?] was perfect, pervasive and resolute. He practised the Chan of the Sugata,[68] his numinous platform [mind][69] unmoving, and in conformity with Mañjuśrī's wisdom, [his wisdom] shining on the sensory objects and being without action, he expounded the phrases of the Tripitaka, his understanding and conduct being in mutual accord, he preached the fourfold vinaya,[70] and diligently practiced both faith and conduct.[71] Thus he proscribed [discriminative] questioning and banned [reciting] poetry. His uttered words promoted [lit., "revered"] the path [i.e., the Buddhist teaching]. His mouth did not talk about secular matters; his body was like a container of truth. That being so, he investigated the principle [the teachings contained] in the three [baskets of the Tripitaka],[72] the essence [of which] is contained in the one [principle].[73] It is necessary to promote humaneness [in order to promote] a peaceful realm and to save [sentient]

66 The monastery on Kaya-san (*Kaya san-sa* 伽倻山寺) refers to Haein-sa.

67 The Ganning 乾寧 era (894–898) refers to the reign of the Tang Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗, which corresponds to the reign period of King Hyogong in Silla.

68 Sugata (*shanshi* 善逝) is one of Buddha Śākyamuni's ten epithets.

69 Numinous platform (*lingtai* 靈臺) is a reference to the mind or to the place where the mind abides.

70 The fourfold vinaya (*Sifen zhi lü* 四分之律) refers to the *Sifenlü* 四分律, the monastic code of the Dharmagupta school, which is subdivided into four parts. The first one explains the 250 precepts for monks and the 348 precepts for nuns. The second part explains the ordination of monks and the bestowal of the precepts. The third part deals with the behavior of monks during retreat. The fourth part deals with matters concerning monastic household.

71 The text has *liangcun* 兩存, lit. "two units", which can be interpreted as referring to faith and conduct (*xin xing* 信行) or as activating the thought of awakening (*faxin* 發心) and cultivation (*xiuxing* 修行).

72 Lit., "investigating the principle in the three" (*qiongli zaisan* 窮理在三) refers to the study of Buddhism by reading the three baskets of the Tripitaka, namely sūtra (*jing* 經), vinaya (*lü* 律), and abhidharma (*lun* 論).

73 Lit. "the essence is originally contained in the One" (*tiyuan hanyi* 體元含一).

beings. While facing imminent danger,[74] although the royal legacy was to last for three thousand years,[75] and it faced the hardships of the hundred-sixth day,[76] the fire planet [ie., Mars] shines on the earth, the golden tiger takes charge of the country[-side].

南在武州, 此中安處, 可能避難, 修保殘生, 所以, 大師與同侶十一人, 行道茫茫, 至于其所, 果然群黎翕集, 所在康寧, 然則竊承南海, 多有昭隄, 實堪駐足, 不久往於彼處, 謂云何以棲遲者焉居無何, 忽遇綠林, 潛侵玄室, 便爲劫剝, 俱煞同行訖, 次至大師, 大師臨白刃而神色恬然, 志青雲而目光瑩爾, 唯無悚懼, 自若從容.

At this time, [the master] learned by hearsay that Muju,[77] located in the south, was a safe place wherein one could take shelter and where one could practice in protection for one's remaining years. Therefore the Great

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74 The term rendered here as "danger of falling over a precipice", *dianwei* 阽危, refers to an imminent dangerous situation. The term is explained in the *Hanshu* 漢書, "Treatise on Food Supplies" (Shihuoji 食貨志): "安有爲天下阽危者 若是而上不驚者 世之有饑穰 天之行也."

75 Literally, the "royal destiny of three thousand" (Kr. *sŏng'un samch'ŏn* 聖運三千) refers to the sage ruler (*sŏnggun* 聖君), the founder of the dynasty (*t'aejo* 太祖), whose legacy is supposed to last for a very long time. Furthermore, this can be interpreted as a reference of the founder of the Koryŏ dynasty, T'aejo Wang Kŏn, who unified the Korean peninsula by destroying Silla, Later Koguryŏ (as established by Kungye 弓裔), and Later Paekche (as established by Kyŏn Hwŏn 甄萱), thereby causing the destiny of the nation to last for a very long time.

76 Literally *bailiu* 百六 or 106, a term referring to the Hanshi (Cold Food) festival (寒食節) on the 105th day of the winter solstice, which also corresponds to the 106th day. On the day of the winter soltice, the first yang (*yiyang* 一陽) is generated, which on the day of the Hanshi festival evolves into (*bailiu yangjiu* 百六陽九), where *yangjiu* 陽九 is associated with calamity (*e* 厄). Therefore the 106th day is supposedly characterized by strong wind and heavy rain. Here, the 106th day refers to the state of ongoing warfare between Kungye, Kyŏn Hwŏn, and Wang Kŏn. On the 106th day, see Yuan Zhen's 元稹 "Lianchang Gongci"(Verse on the Lianchang Palace) 連昌宮詞: "At the start of passing the Cold Food Festival on the 106th day, the shops sand houses emitted no smoke and the palace trees were green" 初過寒食一百六 店舍無煙宮樹綠

77 In the Paekche dynasty, Muju 武州 was the name for Kwangju 光州 in Southern Chŏlla Province.

Master, together with eleven co-practitioners, traveled a long way to reach that place, where indeed the populace harmoniously lived together healthy and free from worry. Then having continued to the [region of] Namhae, there were many temples truly adequate to reside at. Before long, he went to that place, and said “Why [not] take a rest [here]?” Before long, he suddenly came across a hideout of bandits[78] who attacked them and dragged them into a [dark] cave. Then, having stripped them of their [goods] and killed all his companions [one after another], they then came to the Great Master [to kill him]. When the Great Master was about to face the naked sword, he maintained his calm composure, his determination was exalted and the lustre of his eyes shone bright. He was without fear, composed and calm.

魁首, 觀其風度怡怡, 語聲切切, 投劒羅拜, 請師事焉, 至於豺狼革心, 寇賊知禮, 譬如玄奘三藏, 抛西域之爲牲, 慧忠大師, 免南陽之遇禍. 夫先聖之遭難也, 如彼, 我大師之化人也, 若斯, 萬里同風, 其歸一揆.

The leader [of the bandits], having observed his [the master’s] peaceful relaxed demeanor and the earnest tone of his voice, threw away his sword and, [with his bandits] lined up and bowed to him, requesting [permission] to attend to him as their master. He caused the minds of those jackals and wolves [i.e., greedy and cruel people],[79] to change, he caused those bandits to know propriety and righteousness. This was like the Tripitaka master Xuanzang, who almost became prey to sacrifice [by bandits] when he left for the Western

78 The term rendered as bandits here is *lülin* 綠林, lit. “green trees.” The term originates from the gangs of several hundred bandits under the leadership of Wang Kuang 王匡 and Wang Feng 王鳳 who hid in the green forests on the mountains near Xinshi 新市 during Wang Mang’s 王莽 time. See *Houhanshu* 後漢書 “Biography of Liu Xuan” (Liu Xuan zhuan 劉玄傳): “王莽末 南方饑饉 人庶群入野澤 掘鳧茈而食之 更相侵奪 新市人王匡 王鳳 爲平理諍訟 遂推爲渠帥 衆數百人 於是諸亡命 馬武王常成丹等 往從之 共功離鄉 聚藏於綠林中 數月間 至七八千人.”

79 Jackals and wolves (*chai lang* 豺狼) refers to human beings who are greedy, violent, cruel, and lacking compassion. See *Mengzi* 孟子, Lilou Chapter 離婁上: “嫂溺不援 是豺狼也.”

Regions,[80] or like the Great Master Huizhong, who avoided calamity on his journey to Nanyang.[81] When ancient sages meet with disfortune, it is like that. The power of our master to transform people is like that. It is like the same wind sweeping over ten thousand *li*, it remains the same.

大師其後謂曰,“終居此地, 必滯前程,” 天祐三年, 獨行沿海, 尋遇乘槎之者, 請以俱西, 以此寓載凌洋. 達于彼岸, 邐迤西上, 行道遲遲, 路出東陽, 經過彭澤, 遂至九峯山下, 虔謁道乾大師. 大師廣庭望塵, 膜拜方半, 大師問曰,“闍梨頭白”, 對曰,“玄暉, 目不知闍梨自己”,“爲什勿不知”, 對曰,“自己頭不白.” “追思別汝, 稍似無多, 寧期此中, 更以相遇.” 所喜昇堂覩奧, 入室叅禪, 纔留一旬, 密付心要, 受玆玄契. 如瀉德缾, 若備中和, 易直之心, 而無升降. 周旋之節, 於義爲非義, 於人爲半人. 恭惟世間出世間, 皆歸佛性, 體無分別, 俱會一乘.

The Great Master afterwards said, "If I finally settle here, the pathway lying ahead shall become stagnant." In the third year of the Tianyou era (906),[82] he traveled alone to the sea, looking for a vessel [bound to China]. He requested to be taken to the West [i.e., China]. Thus he was taken along and traversed the ocean. Having reached the other shore, he wandered here and there across China, taking the westward direction, proceeding slowly on his way, leaving the road in direction of Dongyang, passing through Pengze. Upon arriving below Jiufeng-shan, he met the Great Master Daoqian with

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80 On his journey from China to India, Xuanzang 玄奘 fell prey to bandits on several occasions, but he always faced death with a calm and self-possessed attitude, thereby teaching them and causing their mind to change. See *Datang gu Sanzang Xuanzang xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀: T. vol. 50. 215a).

81 When the monk Huizhong 慧忠 journeyed to Nanyang 南陽 in 773, he and his fellow traveller saw a horde of bandits approaching them. Huizhong's fellow traveler urged him to rapidly avoid them, but Huizhong did not heed his advice. Finally, they got caught and as the bandits were about to behead them, Huizhong maintained a dignified and self-possessed attitude, which so deeply impressed the bandits' leader that not only did he release him, but he also became Huizhong's disciple. See *Song gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 vol. 9 (T. 2061.50.763a).

82 The Tianyou 天祐 era (904–905) refers to the reign of the Tang emperor Ai 哀 and approximately corresponds to the reign period of King Hyogong 孝恭 in Silla.

reverence.[83] The Great Master was in the large yard, gazing at the dust of the world.[84] [Pŏpkyŏng] performed a full prostration[85] and the Great Master asked him, "Ācārya, is your head white?" Pŏpkyŏng replied, "I, Hyŏnhui, look at myself but do not know what I am." "Why don't you know?" The Great Master replied, "My head is not white." "I remember that I parted from you not a long time ago, now we meet again here." He [Pŏpkyŏng] ascended the Hall, and having seen the profundity [of the Great Master's state], entered [his] room to cultivate Chan. After a period of only ten days, he was secretly entrusted with [the transmission of] the essentials of the mind, and received the arcane accordance [with it], just like pouring water from one bucket to another. If you are endowed with justice and peace,[86] it is easy to straighten the mind,[87] without rise or fall. He had integrity in social skills, but concerning righteousness, his righteousness was not complete. Concerning his being human, his humanity was only half completed. Respectfully considering the mundane and supramundane realms, all [sentient] beings return to the

83 The monk Daoqian 道乾 (or 道虔) was from Fujian 福建 Province. His secular surname was Liu 劉, and he became a monk and a disciple of Shishung Qingzhu 石霜慶諸 (807–888). Since he resided for many years on Jiufeng-shan 九峯山, he is also known by the title of Jiufeng 九峯. He was granted the posthumous title of Chan Master Dajue (大覺禪師). See *Jingde chuandenglu* 景德傳燈錄 vol. 16, T. 2076.51.329a.

84 "Gazing at the dust of the world" (*wangchen* 望塵) refers to looking at the dust resulting from people and carriages busily coming and going, especially when awaiting a valued visitor. See *Jinshu* 晉書, "Biography of Shi Chong" (Shi Chong zhuan 石崇傳): "石崇與潘岳 諂事賈謐 廣成君每出 崇降車路左 望塵而拜"

85 The term translated as full prostration here is *mobai fangban* 膜拜方半. It refers to the full prostration by putting both hands on the ground. Fangban 方半 means to only partially rise again after having performed a full prostration.

86 The term for justice and peace, *zhonghe* 中和, refers to *zhongzheng* 中正. See *Zhong Yong* 中庸: "喜怒哀樂之未發謂之中 發而皆中節謂之和 云云 致中和天地位焉 萬物育焉."

87 A straightforward mind (*yizhi* 易直) refers to *pingyi pingzhi* 平易平直. In the *Zhouli* 周禮, Dongguan lunren Chapter 冬官輪人, it is explained as 無所取之 取諸易直也 "Without grasping anything, it grasps all that is changing and straight." The *Diamond Sūtra* (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經): has "You should produce the mind that has nowhere to dwell" 應無所住而生其心.

Buddha-nature, their essence is without differentiation, they all together are united into the One Vehicle.

所以, 一託松門, 十經槐律, 獨提缾錫, 四遠叅煛, 境之幽兮, 往遊, 山之秀兮, 留駐. 所以, 天台仰異, 地境觀風, 嶺外擔登, 虔禮祖師之塔, 湖南負笈, 遠投禪伯之居. 其後況復, 北抵幽燕, 西臻卭蜀, 或假途諸道, 或偸路百城. 以此, 隅到四明, 忽逢□鳥, 只賷音信, 至自東方, 竊承本國, 祁山霧收, 漸海波息, 皆鎖外難, 再致中興. 迺於同光二年, 來歸舊國, 國人相慶, 歡響動天, 可謂交趾珠還, 趙邦璧返. 唯知優曇一現, 摩勒重榮.

Therefore, since having relied on the pine tree gate, ten years had gone by, and [now] alone carrying the bottle and walking staff, he traveled in the four quarters to meet [Chan] masters, wandering into remote realms, and dwelling in the beautiful mountains. He admired the miracles of Tiantai-shan, surveyed the customs of [different] locales, he walked outside the mountain range, he devotedly paid homage to the stūpa of the patriarch [Zhiyi], wandered to Hunan, and traveled far away to the dwelling place of [famous] Chan practitioners to pay his respects to them. Afterwards, he again went north, reaching You and Yan, and westwards, reaching Koushu, traveling through different provinces[88] or furtively passing through a hundred towns. Thus he reached Siming, where he suddenly met with [character missing] bird, only to receive the news from [his native] Eastern quarters [i.e., Silla] that in his native country, [Ki-san] the fog [of war] was receding, gradually the ocean waves were calming down, all foreign invasions ending and [the country] was restored. Then, in the second year of the Tongguang era (924), he returned to his native country, and his fellow countrymen rejoiced, the echo of their joy shaking heaven [and earth]. It was like the pearls in Jiaozhi being returned

88 The term for traveling through different provinces, *jiatu zhudao* 假途諸道, especially the compound *jiatu* 假途, occurs in the *Shiji* 史記 "Biography of Lu Zhonglian" (Lu Zhonglian zhuan 魯仲連傳): "If you are going to Xie, the path goes from your home village" 將之薛 假途於鄒.

[to Hepu],[89] or like Baobi returning to the country of Zhao [from Qin, where he had been sold into captivity].[90] This is like the Udumbara flower appearing only once [in a thousand years] or like the fruit from the Āmala tree[91] which shines layer upon layer.

上乃特遣使臣, 奉迎郊外, 寵榮之盛, 冠絶當時. 翌日延入九重, 降於三等, 虔心鑽仰, 待以國師. 大師披霧之時, 頻搖麈尾, 上乃望風之際, 甚悅龍顔. 所以大師, 語路風流, 言泉境絶, 得所無得, 玄之又玄, 忽聽玄譚, 盡去煩襟之悶, 仍承雅況, 終懷瑩慮之規. 然則大師曰,"群緣體無, 衆法歸一, 若靈藥毒草, 同在林中, 甘泉淤泥, 共生泉下, 能令分別, 不有迷之."上, 事佛精勤, 深求親近, 仍于中州淨土蘭若, 請以住持.

The king specially dispatched an envoy to welcome him on the outskirts [of the capital]; the magnificence of the [king's] favor at that time was absolutely unmatched. The next day, he was invited into the nine-layered [royal] palace, and was bestowed the third rank [of Triply Great Master],[92]

89 "The pearl in Jiaozhi being returned [to Hepu]" (*jiaozhi zhu huan* 交趾珠還) is also known as *hepu zhu huan* 合浦珠還, and refers to obtaining an object that has been previously lost. Jiaozhi and Hepu are two neighboring locales. The governor of Hepu did not foster the production of grain, instead having pearls collected from the bottom of the ocean and exchanged for food in trade with the neighboring prefecture of Jiaozhi. But then the governor of Hepu, out of greed, began to have pearls collected indiscriminately, so as to multiply his personal fortune. Thus, within a few years, all the pearls of Hepu had been harvested and traded with Jiaozhi. When, in the Later Han, Meng Chang 孟嘗 assumed the post of governor in Hepu, he ruled with integrity and honesty, thereby making it possible for Hepu to recover all pearls that had been traded to Jiaozhi. See *Houhanshu* 後漢書, Xunli Chapter 循吏, "Biography of Meng Chang" (Meng Chang zhuan 孟嘗傳)

90 "Baobi returning to the country of Zhao" (*Zhaobang bifan* 趙邦璧返, a.k.a. *wanbi erhuan* 完璧而還) [from Qin, where he had been sold in captivity].

91 In Buddhism, *mole* 摩勒 refers to the fruit from the *Āmala* tree (*amoleshu* 阿摩勒樹). Here *mole* 摩勒 possibly refers to "the most beautiful gold." See *Nanshi* 南史, "Treatise of the Yi and Mo barbarians" (*Yimo zhuan* 夷貊傳): "天竺迦毗黎國 元嘉五年 國王 遣使奉表獻金剛指環 摩勒金環諸寶物." Also consult the entry for *mole* in the *Song Suoyu* 宋瑣語: "金之至美者也 卽紫磨金."

92 The third rank (Kr. *sam tŭng* 三等) refers to the Triply Exalted Great Master, or samjung taesa 三重大師.

and [the king] with a reverent mind venerated him and invited him to be the State Preceptor. When the Great Master scattered the fog [of ignorance by preaching the Dharma],[93] he frequently waved his whisk and when the king then admired the master's style, the royal countenance was replete with joy. Therefore the Great Master's way with words was sophisticated, the source of his words was excellent and beyond any comparison, allowing [the hearer] to obtain what has not yet been obtained, it was the arcane within the arcane. Suddenly the king listened to his arcane talk, which completely eliminated the worries of his mind ridden by defilements. Then the king received the elegant circumstances, and eventually harbored a bright and clear mindset. Thereupon the Great Master said, "All [karmic causes and] conditions are devoid of essence. All dharmas [i.e., phenomena] return to the one. It is like the miraculous medicine and the poisonous weed[94] coexisting in the same forest, the sweet spring water and the mud both originating beneath the earth. One should be able to discern [these things] and not be deluded." The king worshipped the Buddha even more diligently, seeking to be close to the master, and requested him to assume the abbotship of Chŏngt'o āraṇya (Pure Land hermitage) in Chungju.

大師, 自此,"纔涉滄溟, 每思幽谷, 捨玆奚適, 適我願兮." 於是, 便挈山裝. 尋凌漢廣, 悠悠騫嶺, 往以居之, 境地偏佳, 山泉甚美. 當州聞風而悅, 詣者百千, 大師暫駐慈軒, 尋鋪禪榻, 四方來者, 皆滿茅堂, 森若稻麻, 誨之不倦. 所以先難後獲, 霧集雲歸, 大師誘引學流, 敷陳宗旨, 理妙詞簡, 機深義精, 六度之龜麟, 人天之海嶽也.

Because of this the Great Master [thought] "When I crossed the blue

93 "Scattering the fog" refers to the preaching of the Dharma which causes the fog of ignorance veiling the mind of the sentient beings to be removed.

94 The miraculous elixir (*lingyao* 靈藥) and the poisonous weed (*ducao* 毒草) refer to the Budda-nature. The miraculous elixir refers to the pure Buddha-nature of all Buddhas, whereas the poisonous weed refers to the Buddha-nature of sentient beings, which is covered by defilements and as such "impure."

sea, I frequently thought about a secluded valley. Why should I leave this place and go there to satisfy my vow?" Thereupon he packed his luggage and then traversed Hanguang, slowly crossed mountain ranges, to take up residence there. The surroundings were secluded and beautiful; the mountain springs were very tasty. In Chungju, those who got wind of this rejoiced and the number of those who went to pay him a visit was in the hundreds and thousands. As the Great Master temporarily stayed with compassion in his room, he sought to set up [a permanent] Sŏn seat [a hall to cultivate Sŏn].[95] Visitors from the four directions filled the hermitage hall, were closely packed like paddy and hemp. [The master] taught them without ever becoming tired. Therefore, he faced hardships in the beginning, but later on [his efforts] were rewarded. It was like fog gathering and like clouds dispersing. The Great Master guided the practitioners [of Sŏn], and explained the tenets of the [Sŏn] school. The principle [of Sŏn] is sublime, but [he explained it in a] concise language. His faculty was profound, his understanding sharp. He was a model [practitioner of] the six perfections [pāramitā], among gods and men, he was the most exalted [lit., deeper than the sea and loftier than the mountains].

爰有佐丞劉權說者, 殷傅說之流也. 於國忠臣, 在家弟子. 鑽仰尼父, 必同顏氏之徒, 服膺釋迦, 須並阿難之類. 特趍禪境, 敬禮慈顏, 便申避席之儀, 深展摳衣之懇.

Then at that time there was the Assistant Director of the Left [Vice Minister] Yu Kwŏn-sŏl, who was like [the prime minister] Fu Yue[96] of

95 Sŏn seat (Ch. *chan ta* 禪榻) refers to a seat, and by extension a hall, to cultivate and proselitize Sŏn.

96 Fu Yue 傅說 was the prime minister 宰相 of the Yin 殷 dynasty (Shang 商 dynasty) emperor Gaozong. Gaozong 高宗 wanted to strengthen the Yin dynasty, but due to a lack of capable assistants in his entourage, he did not issue any decrees for a period of three years, instead handing over the government affairs to his prime minister, while limiting himself to the role of observing the country's customs. One day, Gaozong saw a wise person (a saint, *shengren* 聖人) in a dream and afterwards had a portrait made of him which he had distributed in the whole empire, hoping to find him. Finally, he

the Yin dynasty. He was an official loyal to the state and a householder disciple. He venerated Confucius and was just like his disciple Yanhui. He worshipped Śākyamuni and was just like Ānanda. Especially, as he moved to the realm of Sŏn [i.e., became a Sŏn practitioner], he venerated the [master's] compassionate countenance, and then he performed the ceremony of avoiding the seat, and deeply displayed his sincerity by lifting up his robe [as a sign of respect].[97]

> 其後, 下國之賢, 求仁所聚, 中原之士, 慕德成群, 祇奉儀形者, 白蓮開於眼界, 敬聞言說者, 甘露降於心源. 然則可謂主僧子. 天君法兄曰, "禪林御衆, 開道人, 天子之軒, 寶樹居尊, 施澆季法王之化者也." 而又知上法易, 行上法難, 修上法易, 證上法難.

Thereafter, the wise among the feudal lords gathered to seek [his] humaneness, and the literati scholars of the Central Plains [i.e., Chungwŏn] flocked together to venerate his virtue. As they performed the rite of venerating him, it was like the vision of a white lotus blooming. Those who respectfully listened to his preaching [felt like] sweet dew was pouring into the source of their minds. That being so, one might say that he was the lord among monks. As his elder Dharma brother Ch'ŏngun (Heavenly lord) said, "He led the monks in Sŏn monasteries, opening up the path for them. In the residence of the Son of Heaven [i.e., in the imperial realm], it was as if a jewel tree was rising high. He is the one who provided the teaching of the Dharma king [i.e., the Buddha] in a period of decline." But although it is easy to know the supreme Dharma, it is difficult to practice it. It is easy to

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believed to have found him in a person who was leading a retired life in the hermitage of Fuyan 傅岩 and earned his living by repairing roads. This person, Fu Yue, was then appointed prime minister and contributed to the flourishing of the country. See *Shiji* 史記 vol. 3.

97 The lifting up of one's robe (*kouyi* 摳衣) is done in order to show reverence to a senior monk. See *Shiwen* 釋文 : "Kou is to lift up, robe is lower garment. Before you have walked to your mat, you should lift up the front of the lower garment with both hands, go slowly to the lower corner of the mat, and from below ascend on to it, and once in place sit on it" "摳 提也, 衣 裳也 旣不踏席 當兩手提裳之前 徐徐向席之下角 從下而升 當已位而就坐也."

cultivate the supreme Dharma, but it is difficult to realize it.

或問, "'萬行皆空', 云何故行." 對曰, "本無苦樂, 妄習爲因, 衆生妄除, 我苦隨盡, 更於何處, 猶覓菩提." 然則朝廷士流, 銜命來往, 路出中府, 終秊幾千, 萬一之流, 忙於王事, 不踐門閾, 以爲大羞.

Someone asked, "It has been said that all practices are empty. How is it then that one has to practice?" He replied, "Suffering and pleasure are originally nonexistent, but deluded habits cause them. If sentient beings remove their delusion, the suffering of the ego will accordingly be extinguished. Where again do you want to seek awakening?" Then the scholars of the royal court, following a royal order, came. Those who took the road from the central palace [i.e., the royal palace] finally amounted to several thousands. If among the scholars, there happened to be someone who, being busy with royal affairs, was prevented from crossing the threshold of the master's gate, he would have considered this as a great shame.

若乃虔謁禪關, 仰承一眄, 每聞曉誨, 如洗朝飢. 及其撞鍾大鳴, 入海同味, 觀法無本, 觀心不生. 惟最上乘, 止於中道, 凉風旣至, 百實皆成. 汝能摠持, 吾亦隨喜, 由是, 無上覺路, 分爲此宗.

If one piously visited the Sŏn Master [at his abode], venerating him at each single sight, and listening to every of his clear instructions, it was like washing away the sense of hunger one experiences in the morning,[98] and like striking the [monastery's] bell making a big noise, and entering the sea with the [ubiquitously] identical taste, contemplating [all] dharmas [i.e., phenomena] as being without basis and contemplating the mind as being without production. It is merely that the supreme vehicle [i.e., Sŏn] remains in the middle way, [like] a cool breeze having caused a hundred fruits to

98 "Morning hunger" (*zhaoji* 朝飢 or also *diaoji* 調飢) refers to a sense of hunger experienced before breakfast. See *Xinshu* 新書: "諭誠 募人朝飢時 酒二酉重裘而立."

mature. If you are able to keep this [in mind], I shall rejoice as well. Because of this, the pathway to the unsurpassed awakening has been allotted to this school [of Sŏn].

大師謂大衆曰, 曾修香火之因, 於大王殿下, 永言付囑, 虔託王臣, 所以老僧, 忍病趍風, 貪程就日, 冀於一訣, 不在它求, 以此卽到上都. 親申誠懇, 上答曰, "瀍由國興, 誠不虛語, 實願大師, 安心道念, 久護生靈. 弟子, 牆塹法城, 金湯祇樹." 大師對曰, "菩薩弘誓, 上乘發言, 護法爲心, 流慈是務, 正應如是, 今窺聖朝."

The Great Master addressed the assembly, saying "In the past I formed a karmic connection [with the king] by burning incense. With His Majesty the Great King, I entrusted, for evermore, the words [of the Buddha] with piety to the king and ministers. Therefore, I endured illness and rushed like the wind, desiring to do the journey in a day, seeking only one thing, not intent on seeking something else." Thus he arrived in the capital.[99] Having reported to the king his sincere [wish], the king replied, saying, "That the country may flourish by means of the Dharma is my sincere wish, not empty talk. I truly wish that you, Great Master, settle your mind and dedicate yourself to cultivating the path,[100] and protect sentient beings for a long time." I, your disciple, will become the walls and moats of the Dharma citadel and the iron walls and boiling moats [protecting] the Jetavana grove [i.e., monastery]." The Great Master replied, "The great vow of the bodhisattva consists in expounding the supreme vehicle [of Sŏn], protecting the Dharma as his mind's [primary concern], and spreading compassion as his duty. As it is proper to do like this, I now came to the court of the sage [king]."

又問, "修行功用, 遠近當殊." 答曰, "滴水不巖, 卽知朝海." 又問, "了言相信, 先會

99 The capital (*sangdo* 上都) here refers to Kaegyŏng, present-day Kaesŏng.

100 The term translated as "dedicating oneself to cultivating the path" is *daonian* 道念, literally, "mindfulness of the path", and is also referred to as *daoxin* 道心 ("mind on the path"), which often is a synonym for the mind of awakening or *bodhicitta* (菩提心).

暗同, 爭奈童蒙, 如何勸發." 曰, "兒喉旣閉, 乳母奚爲." "夫金韞於山, 則山稱寶嶽, 珠藏於水, 則水號珍川, 其道念玆, 亦同於此, 此情何已, 俱在前言."

Again, he asked, "Is there a difference between far and near in the function of practice?" [The master] replied, "Know that it is like a drop of water falling on a rock that will [ultimately] flow into the ocean." Again, he asked, "Comprehending words and mutual trust is to understand beforehand and to coincide. However, how could an ignorant child be exhorted to begin [cultivating the Buddhist path]?" [The master] replied, "If a child shuts his mouth [refusing to eat], what can a wet nurse possibly do?" "If gold is concealed in a mountain, that mountain is called 'treasure mountain'; if a pearl is hidden in the water, that water is called 'precious river.' This is the same in regard to cultivating the path. This situation already being like this, how can it be completely explained by the previous remarks?"

此際, 宴坐禪牀, 經行慧苑, 演心法玄玄之話, 論信根切切之譚, 然則眞空無象, 實際絶言, 豈惟慧日光沉, 方感泥洹之早, 慈雲色斂, 忽牽滅度之悲而已矣哉.

At that time, [the master] sat quietly on the Sŏn bench, and walked about in the Lecture Hall, exposing the mind-dharma [i.e., the teaching about the mind] and talking about the dark and profound [principle], commenting on the faculty of faith and discussing about the urgency [of practice]. But then, true emptiness is without shapes and reality [i.e., the reality limit] that transcends language. How can one think that the light of the sun of wisdom will go down, and then feel that nirvāṇa is premature? As the clouds of loving kindness fade away, suddenly it leads to the compassion of nirvāṇa.

天福六年十一月二十六日, 詰旦, 告門人曰, "去留有期, 來往無住." 於焉示化, 所在如然. "汝勉旃奉行遺誡, 不隳宗旨, 以報吾恩也." 未示滅之前夕, 弟子問, "和尙欲去, 付囑何人." 師曰, "燈燈自有童子點." 問, "彼童子如何示展." 曰, "星布靑天裏, 於中那得知." 言竟坐滅, 俗年六十有三, 僧臘四十有一.

In the early morning of the twenty sixth day of the eleventh month in the

sixth year in the Tianfu era, [the master] announced to his disciples, "There is a time to stay and a time to go, but one should not abide in either coming or going." Thereupon he passed away and his abode was just as it has been before [i.e., his body remained the same as it was when alive]. "You can repay my benevolence by making efforts to uphold my injunctions and not destroy the teachings of the [Sŏn] school." On the eve of the day he displayed his entering into nirvāṇa, his disciples asked him, "Master, if you intend to leave, to whom do you entrust [the Dharma]?" The master said, "For each lamp [in every generation] there is a youth igniting it." [His disciples] asked, "How are those youths supposed to unfold [the teaching]?" The master said, "The stars are spread in the blue sky, so how can I possibly know this?" Having ended his words, he entered extinction [i.e., nirvāṇa] in a seated posture. His secular age was sixty-three years and he had been a monk for forty-one years.

于時, 雲日慘凄, 風泉嗚咽, 山川震動, 鳥獸悲啼, 諸天唱言, 人無眼目, 列郡含恨. 世且空虛, 天人感傷, 斷可知矣. 聖感靈應, 豈誣也哉. 弟子闊行等三百餘人, 號奉, 以其月二十八日, 窆于北峯之陽, 遵像敎也.

At that time the clouds and the sun became lurid, the wind and the spring water were sobbing, the mountains and streams quaked. Birds and animals sobbed with grief, the gods cried, human beings [wept as if they] lost their eyes, [people in] the various prefectures harbored grief. The world was empty and void, gods and human beings alike quite obviously felt a bitter sadness. How could this sympathetic response from the spiritual realm possibly be a deceptive phenomena? His over three hundred disciples, including Hwarhaeng and others, weeping loudly, on the twenty-eight day of that month, enshrined [their master's remains] on the southern side of the northern peak. This was in conformity to the [Buddhist] teachings.

臨終之際, 奉表告辭云, "老僧不遂素懷, 永辭聖代矣." 上乃披覽, 皇情悼焉, 乃贈諡曰, 法鏡大師, 塔名慈燈之塔. 則知尊師之道, 焯然, 追遠之儀, 賅矣. 於是乎在莫之與京.

At the time of death, the master submitted a letter [to the king] announcing his taking leave from the world, saying, “I, an old monk, did not succeed in accomplishing my long-cherished wishes, and [now] I shall forever take leave from the king’s dynasty.” As the king thereupon opened and read the letter, he was overcome with deep feelings of sadness. Then he bestowed on him the posthumous title “Great Master Pŏpkyŏng [lit., ”Dharma-Mirror”]” and the title of his stūpa as “the stūpa of the lamp of compassion.” Thus know that the king clearly [performed] the way of respecting the master, and comprehensively performed the rite of memorial service for the deceased. Thereupon he lamented the fact that he no longer could have the master come to the capital.

惟大師, 惟岳降靈, 哲人生世, 敷揚釋敎, 闡示禪宗. 然則爲物現生, 憂人弘道, 貌和言寡. 飢至飽歸, 所以, 心樹花鮮, 法流水淨, 月明江闊, 木落山高.

The Great Master is a numinous being that had descended from the mountain peak. A wise person born in the world, he spreads the teaching of Śākyamuni and promotes the Sŏn school. Thereupon, he manifested himself in this life for the sake of sentient beings and promoted the path out of concern for human beings. His appearance was gentle, his words parsimonious. Those who came to him starved returned satiated. Therefore the flowers of the mind-tree [i.e., the products of mental thoughts] are fresh, the waters of the Dharma-river are clear. As the moon shines, the river appears broader, as the tree leaves fall, the mountains appears higher.

故能薝蔔神香, 醍醐勝味. 正道無說, 權機有言. 由是四方, 施捨之緣, 歸於大衆. 一世有無之屬, 贍彼窮人. 然則可謂問道楞伽, 尋師印度, 求深斷臂, 志切傳心.

Therefore, the Yanbo emits a divine fragrance, the flavor of ghee is exquisite. The right path [originally] has no explanation, it is [only] temporarily that words are used to save sentient beings. By means of this, the karmic affinity of giving donations [by lay donors] from the four directions returns to the assembly [of monks]. In the world, both those who have and

those who do not have [equally] provide for those poor people [i.e., the community of monks and nuns, by material or spiritual donations]. That being so, they may ask about the path to the Sŏn school [lit. the Laṅkā school], seek a teacher [from] India, and seek the profound [truth of Sŏn] by cutting off one's arm [like Huike did], their will to receive the transmission from mind to mind being so urgent.

遂使一國, 歸仁實助, 帝王之化, 千門入善, 偏霑黎庶之心. 下臣, 忽捧芝泥, 令修蘁臼, 臣才非呑鳥, 學謝聚螢, 强措菲詞, 式揚禪德, 所冀, 垂于不朽, 永示無窮.

In the end, they truly assisted the whole country to revert to humaneness, and made the influence of emperor and kings adhere to goodness in thousands of approaches, and also soaked the mind of the common people. I, the [king's] subject, unexpectedly received the king's order to compose the master's inscription. But my skills are not those of a Yang Xiong who dreamed of swallowing a phoenix, my learning is not the fruit of diligent studies, [yet I] am compelled to compose using [my] poor words to extoll the virtuous Sŏn Master, wishing that [his memory] be bequeathed to posterity without decay, that [his example] is manifested forever without end.

國主追哀鳳篆, 彰亡師之慟. 門人, 感慕龜文, 表絶學之悲, 銘曰,

The king, cherishing [the master's] memory, wrote the inscription in seal script, [thereby] expressing his grief about the deceased master. The disciples felt deep adoration for the stele inscription and they expressed their sadness about the fact that they no longer where able to study under their master. The inscription says,

懿歟大覺,
愍我群生.
休飮炎水,
莫趍化城

How splendid it is, [our master's] great awakening! May he have pity us, sentient beings. May we stop to drink from the scorching water, and not rush to the illusory city.

色則非色,
名惟假名.
知惟眞實,
試是慧明.

Form is not form, names are only provisional names. Know merely what is true; test it by the brightness of wisdom.

倬哉至人,
麻谷孫子.
具體則圓,
猶如顔氏.

Great is he, an accomplished man! Grandson of Mazu Daoyi. He has a body that is perfect, just like [Confucius' disciple] Yanhui.

道冠憐鷹,
慈超救蟻.
□悟眞宗,
潛傳閟旨.

[The virtue of] his path precedes [Buddha's] taking pity on falcons, his compassion surpasses [the Buddha's] saving of ants. He realized the true teaching, he received the [Dharma-] transmission of the concealed and profound teaching [from Daoqian].

紹隆三寶,
袒接四依,

玄情乘運,
妙用息機.

The [Dharma] treasure greatly flourished [in Silla], he received disciples coming to him from the four directions. He transmitted the arcane teaching [of Sŏn], his sublime function put the [discriminative] faculties of sentient beings to rest.

智流激爽,
心路知歸,
聞所未聞,
得其無得.

His stream of wisdom is fast and refreshing, his mind knows the way home. He has heard what has yet to be heard, he has obtained what has yet to be obtained.

法無去來,
宗判南北.
靡見聖心,
誰尊禪德.

The Dharma neither comes nor goes. But the teaching [of Sŏn] has been divided into North and South [i.e., the Northern and Southern School of Chan]. Unless one has seen into the mind of a saint, who can [adequately] venerate the virtuous Sŏn Master?

佛戒恒行,
師言不忒,
心傳靈器,
道贊聖朝.

He always kept the Buddhist precepts. The master's words were never

wrong. He was a numinous vessel [worthy of] receiving the transmission of the mind. The [power of] his path [always] assisted the king.

化被群惑,
威摧衆妖,
初從宴坐,
屢赴嘉招.

His transformative power reached out to all deluded sentient beings, his majestic power subdued all demons. Ever since he practiced quiet sitting, he was repeatedly invited by the king.

惟思惟慮,
匪斲匪雕.
服煖縕縻,
食甘禪悅.

His thinking and contemplation was profound, his lifestyle was simple and frugal. His clothes were made of coarse hemp, his food consisted of rejoicing in Sŏn.

大君感傷,
眞宰思渴.
唯喜學人,
並無中輟.

The great ruler grieved deeply [about his death], heaven longed for [his exposition of the Dharma]. He only had rejoiced in guiding practitioners [Sŏn practitioners], and he never gave up halfway.

天福八年, 歲次癸卯, 六月丁未朔, 五日辛亥, 立.

[Written] in the eighth year of the Tianfu era (943), the fortieth year of

the sexagenary cycle.

Carved on the fifth day of the sixth month, the forty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle.

鐫字僧: 光乂, 壯超, 幸聰, 行超.

Monks who carved the letters: Kwang'ye, Chang'cho, Haengch'ong, Haengch'o.

陰記 Reverse inscription

開天山
維天福九季, 歲次甲辰, 六月一日辛丑,
立碑記事.
爰有中原府, 道俗二官, 公卿夫老, 黎
人士庶, 共是歸仰, 虔爲大師弟子, □
載此碑, 略題名字.

Kaech'ŏn-san

Recording the event of the establishment of the stele on the sinch'uk day in the sixth month of the forty-first year of the sexagenary cycle, the ninth year of the Tianfu era.

Thus, in the Prefecture of Chungwŏn, the monastic and lay officials,[101] the dukes and nobles, young and old, the multitude of scholars and common people, together admired and revered the great master. His disciples recorded □ on this stele, abridging their titles and names.

弘琳大德 景乎大純 法譽大統
談弘大德 嚴信和尙 釋訪和尙
帝弘和尙 訓乂和尙 能珠儀娘

101 Hucker 4866.

權說佐丞 堅書佐丞 遵讓元輔
弼良元輔 龍希元尹 朴謙元尹
舒兢元尹 崔律元尹 義貞佐尹
孔融佐尹 俊弘佐尹 張希阿粲
奉希阿粲 萱直阿粲 崔濡阿粲
新城阿粲 崔忠柰 春一柰
崔貞柰 國奉柰 仁鏡柰,
乂奉柰 官訓侍郎 龍侶侍郎
堅訓侍郎 奉立侍郎 金侶侍郎
仁往侍郎 儒侍郎 彥猶侍郎
聰明侍郎 直奉侍郎 敻奉卿
□寶卿 崔讓卿 居律卿
門侶卿 由信卿 必奉卿
聽讓卿 信興卿 漢乃達卿
金達卿 執事郎中 □□□□ 玄魏
史秀貞 兵部卿 忠式卿
□□卿 倉部卿 彥書卿
孔律卿 幸規

Great Virtuoso Hongnim; Ach'an Chang Hŭi
Great Virtuoso Kyŏngbu; Ach'an Pong Hŭi
Great Overseer Pŏbye; Ach'an Hwŏn Chik
Great Virtuoso Tamhong; Ach'an Ch'oe Yu
Venerable Ŏmsin; Ach'an Sin Sŏng
Venerable Sŏkbang; Nae Ch'oe Ch'ung
Venerable Chehong; Nae Ch'un Il
Venerable Hun'ye; Nae Ch'oe Chŏng
Ŭinang[?] Nŭngju; Nae Kuk Pong.
Assistant of the Left Kwŏn Yŏl; Nae In Kyŏng.
Assistant of the Left Kyŏn Sŏ; Nae Ye Pong
Counselor-in-Chief Chun Yang; Attendant Gentleman Kwan Hun
Counselor-in-Chief P'il Yang; Attendant Gentleman Yong Kan
Head Magistrate Yong Hŭi; Attendant Gentleman Kyŏn Hun

Head Magistrate Pak Kyŏm; Attendant Gentleman Pong Ip
Head Magistrate Sŏ Kŭng; Attendant Gentleman Kim Kan
Head Magistrate Ch'oe Yul; Attendant Gentleman In Wang
Assistant Magistrate Ŭi Chŏng; Attendant Gentleman Hyŏng Yu
Assistant Magistrate Kong Yung; Attendant Gentleman Ŏn Yu
Assistant Magistrate Chun Hong; Attendant Gentleman Ch'ong Myŏng
Attendant Gentleman Chik Pong; Minister Kim Tal

大師門下僧 聰芮, 闊行, 聰信, 貞裕, 仁一, 慶修,
法言, □悟, 法郎等, 三百餘人.
院主僧 行周.
典座 釋悟.
史僧 行裕.
直歲僧 孝行.
都維那僧 行璘.
諭德山人 青州, 釋希侍郎.
元州仁人員外.
當城 幸璘卿.
目竹縣 聰乂村主.

Disciples of the Great Master:
Ch'ong'ye, Hwarhaeng, Ch'ongsin, Chŏng'yu, In'il, Kyŏngsu, Pŏbŏn, □o, Pŏbnang, and others, a total of over three hundred monks,

Office of the Three Superiors of the monastery:
Abbot Hyo'an,
Director of religious services (vihārapāla) Haengsung,
Labor Steward Monk Pŏbwŏn,
Rector (karmadāna) Haeng'on.

Abbot Haengju
Director of religious services (vihārapāla) Sŏg'o
Compiler of Chronicles Haeng'yu

Labor Steward Hyohaeng
Chief Deacon Haengrin
Adviser of Virtue: Attendant Gentleman Sŏkhŭi in Ch'ŏngju
Supernumerary: In'in in Wŏnju
[Official] in charge of the city: Minister Haengrin
[Official in charge of] Mokjuk District: Village Lord Ch'ongye

V

STELE INSCRIPTION OF WŎNJONG CH'ANYU
(驪州 高達院 元宗大師 惠眞塔碑文)

5.

Stele Inscription of Wŏnjong Ch'anyu

驪州 高達院 元宗大師 惠眞塔碑文

Stele Inscription of the Hyejin Stupa for the Great Master Wŏnjong at Kodal Cloister in Yŏju.

慧目山, 高達禪院, 國師元宗大師之碑.[題額]
高麗國, 廣州慧目山, 高達院, 故國師, 制贈謚元宗大師, 慧眞之塔碑銘, 幷序.

[Stele] Inscription of the State Preceptor and Great Master Wŏnjong, at Kodal Sŏn Cloister[1] on Hyemok-san (title of the inscription).

Stele Inscription and Preface to Hyejin stūpa for the posthumously titled Great Master Wŏnjong, the Late State Preceptor at Kodal Cloister on Hyemok-san, Kwangju, Koryŏ country.

光祿大夫, 太丞, 翰林學士, 內奉令, 前禮部使, 叅知政事, 監修國史, 臣, 金廷彥, 奉制, 撰.
奉議郎, 佐尹, 前軍部卿, 兼內議承旨舍人, 臣, 張端說, 奉制, 書, 幷篆額.

1 The Kodal Cloister 高達院 is a monastery first founded in 764 during the reign of King Kyŏndŏk in the Silla dynasty. Subsequently, in the early Koryŏ dynasty, especially during the reign of King Kwangjong (949–975), this monastery became very important. In 971, when Kwangjong had the Tripitaka recited in his royal palace (the Wŏnhwa-jŏn 元和殿), he decreed that the abbots of Kodal Cloister, Hŭiyang Cloister 曦陽院, and Tobong Cloister 道峰院 had their own respective disciples to succeed them as abbots, thereby warranting that the lineages of abbots serving at these three monasteries be perpetuated.

Composed upon royal order by the subject Kim Chŏng-ŏn, Grand Master for Splendid Happiness[2], Grand Councilor,[3] Hallim Academician,[4] Chief of the Royal Personnel, former Commissioner of the Ministry of Rites, Vice Grand Councilor, and Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History[5].

Inscribed upon royal order, in seal script by the subject Chang Tan-yŏl, Court Gentleman Consultant,[6] Assistant Prefect,[7] former Chief Minister of the Army,[8] and concurrent Recipient of Edicts, and secretary.

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2 Grand Master for Splendid Happiness [Hucker 3349] (*Kwangnok taebu* 光祿大夫) was a civil prestige title for an official rank in the Koryŏ dynasty. It was a rank three lower class, instituted during King Munjong's 文宗 reign. This title became obsolete from 1275 (the first year of King Ch'ungnyŏl's reign) till 1356, when it was restored by King Kongmin as rank two upper lower class. It was abolished again in 1362, to be restored in 1369, again during Kongmin's reign, as rank two upper upper class.

3 Grand Councilor (*t'aesŭng* 太丞), also *t'aesang* 丞相, refers to the director (*yŏngsang* 領相) of the Chief Deliberative Council (*Yŏng ŭijŏng* 領議政).

4 Hallim Academician (*Hallim haksa* 翰林學士), was a post in the Koryŏ *Hallim-wŏn* 翰林院 (corresponding to the Hanlin Academy in China), an office drafting and editing royal decrees, staffed by two scholat-officials of senior fourth rank.

5 The Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History (*kamsu kuksa* 監修國史) was the highest office in Koryŏ's Spring and Autumn Ministry (*Ch'unch'u kwan* 春秋館), the Office for Annals Compilation. It was headed by a rank one lower class official, an attendant minister (*sijung* 侍中), as a concurrent appointment only. In 1325, this office was renamed *Yŏngkwansa* 領館事 and *Kamkwansa* 監館事, but its head director remained a concurrent office holder (cf. Hucker 829).

6 The Court Gentleman Consultant (Kr. *pongŭi-nang* 奉議郎) was a civil prestige title for an official rank in the early Koryŏ dynasty. Its use (together with the title of *yinqing guanglu dafu* 銀青光祿大夫, "Grand Master of Imperial Entertainments with Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon") is attested since before the system of prestige civil ranks was reorganized in the fourteenth year of King Sŏngjŏng's reign. (Hucker 1991).

7 The Assistant Prefect (*chwayun* 佐尹) is an early Koryŏ official rank corresponding to rank six grade eleven. (Hucker 7969).

8 Chief Minister of the Army (*kunbu kyŏng* 軍部卿) was the highest official responsible for military affairs. He was in charge of national defense, supervising and commanding the armies. As such, he was the equivalent of the modern post of Minister of Defence.

觀夫, 日出扶桑, 作人間之瞻仰, 佛生天竺, 爲世上之歸依, 俾君子之邦, 學法王之道. 所謂道非心外, 佛在身中, 故得道之尊, 爲導師, 德之厚, 爲慈父. 爰因象跡, 遂示它心, 光如水上之蓮, 皎若星中之月, 實大師其人矣.

As one may observe, the sun rises in [the country of] Fusang[9] and causes all of mankind to look up at it with reverence. The Buddha was born in India and became the refuge for the [whole] world and caused people of the country of gentlemen[10] study the path of the Dharma-king [i.e., the Buddha]. What is referred to as "path" is not [to be found] outside the mind, the Buddha is present within [every]body. Therefore, because of the respect he [earned by] obtaining the path he became the teacher [of mankind], and because of the generosity of his virtue, he became the compassionate father [of mankind]. Thereupon, because of the traces of his shape, he finally manifested his mind. His light shines like the lotus on the surface of the water, his brightness is like that of the moon among the stars. Truly, the Great Master was such a person!

大師, 尊稱璨幽, 字道光, 俗緣金氏, 鷄林河南人也. 孫孫著族, 代代名家. 尊祖清規. 敬宗芳蹟, 刪而不記, 遵釋宗矣. 考諱容, 白虹英氣, 丹穴奇姿. 含霞綺之餘光, 振霜鍾之雅韻. 遂起家爲倉部郎中, 無何出爲長沙縣令, 百里行春之化, 花縣騰芬. 九重向日之心, 葵園著美.

9 Fusang 扶桑 refers to a divine tree (*shenmu* 神木) in the Eastern Sea (Donghai 東海) consisting of two actual trees with one single common root. From their very start, these two trees grew up by relying upon each other, and thus they were named "Fusang" (lit. supporting mulberry tree). The Eastern Sea was considered to be the place where the sun rises. The *Shanhaijing* 山海經, "Regions overseas" (*Haiwaidongjing* 海外東經) states: "Above the Valley of Tang there is a Fusang where the ten suns bathe. To the north of Heichi [Black Teeth] in the Ju Waters there is a large tree, and nine suns rest in its lower branches, and one sun rests in its upper branch." 湯谷之上 有扶桑 十日所浴 在黑齒北 居水中 有大木 九日居下枝 一日居上枝.

10 The country of gentlemen (*junzi zhi bang* 君子之邦) refers to a country located in the Eastern Sea, where good and gentle manners of gentlemen prevailed, which was intepreted as a reference to Silla. See the *Tangshu* 唐書, "Treatise on Silla" (Xinluo zhuan 新羅傳): "Silla is titled the Country of Gentlemen; they know the Odes and Documents" 新羅號君子國 知詩書. Japanese interpreted the "country of gentlemen" as referring to Japan.

The Great Master's honorific title was Ch'anyu, his courtesy name was To'gwang. His secular surname was Kim [of the Kim clan] from Hanam in Kyerim [i.e., Silla]. For successive generations, it was a prestigious clan and a famous family. His grandfather's name was Ch'ŏng-gyu [lit. "Pure Regulations"]. His [grandfather's] respect for the ancestral clan and his illustrious deeds are too numerous to be recorded [here]. Indeed he [also] venerated the teaching of Śākyamuni. His father's taboo name was Yong. He was born with the brilliance of the white rainbow[11] and the mysterious physiognomy of the cinnabar cave.[12] He contained the remaining rays of the brocade-like afterglow[13] and the elegant rhyme of the [temple] bell in the [late autumn's] frost [at dawn].[14] Finally, he succeeded in his career by becoming Director[15] of the Granaries Bureau.[16] Before long, he became District

11 The white rainbow (*baihong* 白虹): since ancient times, the 目氏祲, a 日官 analyzed the brightness of the sun through a set of ten criteria, in order to determine auspicious and inauspicious (*jixiong* 吉凶), good and bad (*shan'e* 善惡) omens. These ten criteria were referred to as the ten halos of the sun (*shiyun* 十煇, also 十暈), which are explained in the *Zhouli* 周禮, Chunguan Chapter 春官 entry 目氏祲: 掌十煇之氾 以觀妖祥 辨吉凶 一曰祲 二曰象 三曰鑴 四曰監 五曰暗 六曰瞢 七曰彌 八曰敘 九曰隮 十曰想. Among these, the seventh, mi 彌, means "white rainbow pervading heaven" (*baihong mitian* 白虹彌天), and in the *Li(ji)* 禮, Pinyi Chapter聘義 is explained as "The gentleman's virtue is compared to jade, his spirit is like a white rainbow" 君子比德于玉焉 氣如白虹.

12 The cinnabar cave (*danxue* 丹穴) refers to a cave or grotto where cinnabar is found. See *Shanhaijing* 山海經, "Regions of the Southern Mountains" (*Nanshanjing* 南山經): "The mountain of the cinnabar cave has much gold and jade on it, and the Cinnabar River (cinnabar colored waters) flow out from it southwards into Bohai" 丹穴之山 其上多金玉 丹水出焉 而南流注於渤海.

13 Containing the afterglow of red silk (*han xiaqi zhi yuguang* 含霞綺之餘光), refers to the afterglow of the evening sunset which is red like silk brocade.

14 The "elegant rhyme of the temple bell in the late autumn's frost at dawn" is similar to Li Bai's 李白 poem "Ting tanqin shi" (Hearing the Playing of the Lute" 聽彈琴詩: "The mind of the traveler is washed by the flowing water; The lingering echo penetrates the frosty bell" 客心洗流水 餘響入霜鐘. Here this refers to human nature as being pure and refined like the clear sound of a temple bell at dawn.

15 Hucker 3565. Nangjung 郎中 was an official post in the Silla dynasty. It was assigned to the *Chipsasŏng* 執事省, the Board of the Army兵部, and the Board of Stores 倉部, and individuals having a rank ranging from *saji* 舍知 up to *nama* 奈麻 were appointed to it. In the Koryŏ dynasty, Nangjung refers to an official post staffed by individuals belonging to superior rank five and assigned

Magistrate[17] of Changsa.[18] He bestowed the transformative influence of his virtue while touring on patrol a hundred *li* in his district[19] causing his district to flourish[20] and soar with fragrance. His mind's loyalty towards the nine-layered royal palace was like the beauty of a sunflower [directed at the sun].[21]

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to the 尚書省, 考功司, 都官 and the 六曹. It was also a 鄉職 in the early Koryŏ which was renamed into 戶正 in 983, during the reign of King Sŏngjong.

16 Hucker 6907. (*ch'angbu* 倉部) was an office of the central government in the Silla dynasty. *Initially* a part of the Chipsasŏng 執事省, it became an independent office in 636, during the reign of Queen Sŏndŏk, and was in charge of financial affairs. It was staffed by two *yŏng* 令 (by individuals of the rank of 大阿飡 up to 大角干), three *kyŏng* 卿 (by those of the rank of *ach'an* 阿飡), two *taesa* 大舍 (ranks *saji* 舍知 up to *nama* 奈麻), one *chosaji* 租舍知 (rank *saji* 舍知 up to *taesa* 大舍), and thirty *sa* 史. In the early Koryŏ dynasty, the *ch'angbu* was an office for *hyangni* 鄉吏. It was renamed into *sach'ang* 司倉 in 983, during King Sŏngjong's reign.

17 Hucker 2518.

18 Changsa district 長沙縣 was the old name for Mujang 茂長 in Northern Chŏlla Province. Today, it has been incorporated into Koch'ang 高敞 County.

19 "Transformative influence of his virtue bestowed the transformative influence of his virtue while touring on patrol a hundred *li* in his district." Literally, "the transformation of touring in the spring" (*haengch'un chihwa* 行春之化). A reference to the governor (*t'aesu* 太守) patrolling the district under his jurisdiction to promote farming and sericulture. See *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 "Biography of Zheng Hong" (*Zheng Hong zhuan* 鄭弘傳): "When Hong was young he was a petty official, and the Governor Di Wulun was touring in spring, saw him and was deeply amazed at him" 弘少爲鄉嗇夫 太守第五倫行春 見而深怪之.

20 Causing the district to flourish (*huaxian* 花縣) is an abbreviation of the expression (*heyang yi xian hua* 河陽一縣花). In the Jin 晋 dynasty Pan Yue 潘岳 was appointed to the post of magistrate 令 of Heyang district, and he had many peach and plum trees planted in the district, rendering it beautiful. Li Bai 李白 refers to it in his poem "Zeng Cui Qiupu shi" (Poem Given to Cui Qiupu) 贈崔秋浦詩: "The flowers of Heyang made the district; the jade of Qiufu made the people" 河陽花作縣 秋浦玉爲人 and it has ever since been used to eulogize a wise magistrate's 縣令's policy. Li Bai lived in Qiufu.

21 This refers to the loyalty of a subject towards the ruler. The nine-fold royal palace refers to the Son of Heaven. As a sunflower is directed towards the sun, so is the subject's loyalty directed towards the ruler. See the poem by Tai Buhua 泰不華, "Pei xing Xihu shi" (Accompanying an Imperial Progress to West Lake) 陪幸西湖詩: "The sunflower only inclines towards the sun; the lotus bends depending on the wind to unfold" 葵傾惟向日 荷偃借風張.

朝野因而倚頼, 郷閭所以瞻依. 妣李氏, 婦德聿修, 母儀富有. 夢有一神人, 告之曰, "願言爲母爲子, 爲佛爲孫, 故託妙緣, 敬敷慈化." 以爲得殊夢, 因有娠. 愼出身文, 奉行胎敎. 以咸通十年, 龍集己丑, 四月四日, 誕生大師. 善芽尙早, 妙果不遲. 年甫十三, 遂言於父曰, "雖乏惠柯, 衹期覺樹." 父因謂曰, "吾縱葉瞳者, 嘗見汝善根也, 汝宜孜孜, 培之修勝果而已."

Therefore, both at court and in the countryside, [all people] relied upon him. Therefore, people in the villages in the countryside venerated and relied upon him. His mother was from the Yi clan. She had thoroughly cultivated the womanly virtues. Her etiquette as a mother was abundant. She dreamt that a divine person announced to her, "It is my wish that you become my mother and I become your son so that I will become the Buddha's grandson. Therefore I rely upon this sublime karmic affinity to respectfully unfold [the Buddha's] compassionate teaching." She became pregnant upon having received this extraordinary dream. She pursued the education of the fetus[22] with care, aiming at giving birth [to a son illustrious like King] Mun. Accordingly, the Great Master was born on the fourth day of the fourth month in the twenty-sixth year of the sexagenary cycle,[23] the tenth year of the Xiantong era (869).[24] Sŏn'a [lit., "Virtuous Sprout"], as the boy was called, was

22 The education of the fetus (Ch. *taijiao*, Kr. *t'aegyo* 胎教, also referred to as *taihui*, Kr. *t'aehoe* 胎誨, or *taiyu*, Kr. *t'aeyuk* 胎育) refers to measures taken by a pregnant woman to ensure the pre-natal well-being of the fetus. For example, assuming a proper posture when sitting or standing, eating proper food, adopting a proper facial countenance, and only listening to proper music or proper stories. The *Xinshu* 新書, Taijiao entry 胎教 says: 青史氏之記曰 古者胎教之道 王后有身 七月而就蔞室 太師持銅而御戶左 大宰持斗而御戶右 大卜持蓍龜而御堂下 諸官皆以其職御於門內 比三月者 王后所求聲音非禮樂 則太師撫樂 而稱不習 所求滋味者非正味 則太宰荷斗 而不敢煎調而已 不敢待王太子.

23 The term for year used here is *longji* 龍集. *Long* 龍 (lit. "dragon") refers to the star Jupiter, also known as *Muxing* 木星 or *Taisui* 太歲. Jupiter completes in the period of one year one celestial circle and returns to its original mansion, which is referred to as *longji* 龍集. Hence longji means "one full year" and is also used as a way to numbering years when recording chronological events. *Longji* is thus used interchangeably with the term *suici* 歲次.

24 The Xiantong 咸通 era (860–874) refers to the reign of Tang Emperor Yizong 懿宗, and corresponds to the reign of the Silla King Kyŏngmun.

precocious[25] and [because of his] sublime fruition [he] was not dull-witted. When he just reached the age of thirteen, he told his father, "Although I lack the branch of wisdom,[26] I intend to achieve awakening [lit., reach awakening beneath the bodhi-three]." His father therefore told him, "Although mine is a narrow perspective,[27] I early on have seen that you have good roots [kuśala-mula]. It is appropriate that you be diligent and cultivate and practice [the path] so that you may obtain the excellent fruit [of awakening].

大師, 以邂逅適願, 卽落髮出家, 伏承尙州公山三郎寺, 融諦禪師, "論道玄玄, 化人赫赫, 願爲弟子." 遙詣禪師, 禪師若曰, "格汝, 見今日之來儀, 認他時之利見. 吾宗禪和尙, 法號 '審希', 眞一佛出世, 爲東化主. 見在慧目山, 汝宜往師事之." 大師, "以是吾師也, 適我願兮, 得不時然後行, 利有攸往. 便詣慧目, 允叶服膺, 增修學道之心, 倍勵習禪之志.

The Great Master, his wish having been granted, shaved his hair and left the household [to become a monk]. He became a disciple of Sŏn Master Yungje[28] at Samnang-sa[29] on Kong-san in Sangju. He wandered far away to meet the Sŏn Master and said to him, "I want to discuss the dark and arcane path and to teach people in a brilliant manner. I wish to become your disciple." The Sŏn Master said, "My estimation of you from seeing the way you came here today, is that you will benefit [sentient beings][30] in the future.

25 "Virtuous sprout" (Kr. *sŏn'a* 善芽) refers to the human nature of the master, which was virtuous and good, superior and precocious when compared to other children of his age.

26 The branch of wisdom (Ch. *huike* 惠柯 or 慧柯) refers to the function (*yong* 用) of wisdom.

27 "Narrow perspective" is a translation for *yetong* 葉瞳, a term literally meaning a "pupil covered with a leaf of grass", that is, the contrary of a a lucid and bright eyesight. There is a common Korean saying "having eyes covered with fish scales of a pollack" conveying the same meaning.

28 Sŏn Master Yungje 融諦 at Samnang-sa 三郎寺 was the teacher (*ŭnsa* 恩師) of the Great Master (*taesa* 大師) Wŏngjong Ch'anyu 元宗璨幽 at the Kodal Sŏn Cloister 高達禪院.

29 The history of Samnang-sa is unknown.

30 The term translated as "benefiting" is *lijian* 利見. It occurs in a poem by Yan Yanzhi 顔延之, the "*Sanyue sanri* 三月三日 *zhaoyan Xichi shi*" (On the 3rd day of the third month invited to a banquet

In our school [of Sŏn], there is this Sŏn Master whose Dharma name is Simhŭi.[31] He is really like a Buddha who has appeared in the world. He is the master who has converted the East [i.e., the Eastern Country of Silla]. He can be seen at Hyemok-san. You should go and pay respect to him as your teacher." The Great Master [said], "Therefore he [shall be] my teacher, as it conforms to my wish! I shall leave anytime after having obtained [awakening][32] and travel far away to benefit sentient beings." Then he went to Hyemok-san,[33] he was granted permission to attend him.[34] He increased his intention of studying the path and increased his will to practice Sŏn.

未幾, 精窮妙理, 高悟玄機. 行覺路以雖通, 仗律儀而斯在, 年二十二, 受具於楊州三角山莊義寺. 於是, 忍草抽芽之後, 戒珠瑩色之初, 尙以問道忘疲, 尋師靡懈. 時本師遂住光州松溪禪院. 大師, 遠携笻杖, 特詣松溪, 申禮足之素衷, 謝鑄顔之玄造. 師謂曰, "白雲千里萬里, 猶是同雲, 明月前谿後溪, 嘗無異月." 爰因識識, 只在心心而已. 大師, "以爲凡志於道者, 何常師之有." 迺告以遠遊泛覽.

Before long, he meticulously investigated the sublime principle and was eminently awakened to the arcane truth. He practised the road to awakening and although he thoroughly understood it, he relied on [i.e., he did not discard] monastic codes and decorum. When he was twenty-two years old, he received the full ordination at Changŭi-sa on Samgak-san near Yangju.

at Western Pond) 詔宴西池詩: 河嶽曜圖 聖時利見.

31 Simhŭi refers to the disciple of Hyŏnuk 玄昱, the Great Master (*taesa* 大師) Chingyŏng Simhŭi 眞鏡審希 at Pongnim-sa 鳳林寺 in Ch'angwŏn 昌原.

32 The term for "any time", *bushi* 不時, occurs in a poem by Su Shi 蘇軾, the "Hou chibifu (Rhapsody on the Later Red Cliff) 後赤壁賦: "The wife said, 'I have a litre of wine that I have kept for a long time, so that I can serve it any time you want.' "婦曰 我有斗酒 藏之久矣 以待子不時之需." Here, it means that the Great Master is willing to leave his teacher as soon as he achieves awakening, in order to go on a journey to seek other masters to put his awakening to the test.

33 Hyemok-san 慧目山 is located in Kyŏnggi Province, Yŏju County.

34 I.e., Hyŏnuk allowed him to stay with the assembly of his disciples in order to cultivate the path.

Thereupon, after that the grass of forbearance[35] had drawn out its sprouts, and as the jewel of precepts had begun to emit its colored lustre, he rather became oblivious of the fatigue by [means of] inquiring about the path. He did not become tired or lazy in seeking his teacher. At that time, his principal teacher (i.e., Chingyŏng Simhŭi) moved his residence to the Songgye Sŏn Cloister in Kwangju. The Great Master took his bamboo walking staff on a distant journey to especially go visit Songgye [Sŏn Cloister], and manifested his sincere mind by performing the rite of prostration to his teacher's feet, and was grateful to the arcane creation of [his teacher's] iron-cast face.[36] The master [Chingyŏng] said, "If a white cloud covers [the sky] for a thousand or a ten thousand *li*, it is still the same cloud. If the bright moon shines over a brook [lying ahead] or a brook [lying] behind, it is still the same moon." Therefore the reason for the consciousness [to be able to] discern [this] only lies [in the function] of the mind [to mind transmission], and that is all. The Great Master [thought], "For those who whose intention is [fixed] on the path, how can there be [only one single] permanent teacher?" Thereupon he announced [his intention] to travel far away to extensively look for [additional teachers].

師因謂曰, "它心莫駐, 迅足難留, 吾於子驗之." 笑而聽去. 大師以道之云, 遠行之則是, 迺出山並海, 覗西汎之緣, 景福元年春, 適有商舶入漢者, 遂寄載而西. 卽

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35 The "grass of endurance" (*rencao* 忍草) is an abbreviation for "the precepts produce the grass of endurance" (*jiesheng rencao* 戒生忍草), that is, keeping the precepts (S. *śīla*) (Kr. *chigye* 持戒) produces endurance (S. *kṣānti*; Ch. *renru* 忍辱). The term "grass of endurance" occurs in the *Daban niepan jing* 大般涅槃經 vol. 27 : "In the Himalayas there is a grass called the grass of forebearance. If an cow eats it it will produce ghee" 雪山有草 名爲忍草 牛若食者 則出醍醐, and the term "the precepts produce the grass of endurance" in the stele inscription of Chan Master Jingjue (淨覺禪師碑銘): "The precepts produce the grass of endurance; samādhi grows the branches of Chan" 戒生忍草 定長禪枝.

36 "Iron-caste face" (*zhuyan* 鑄顔) refers to a forehead of iron and a head of copper (*tie'e tongtou* 鐵額銅頭). This term is a metaphor for a practitioner of the path whose fierce determination cannot be destroyed by anything and which is not lead astray by anything either. See *Mengchuanglu* 夢窓錄 Part One: "漫天網子百千重 鐵額銅頭跳不出."

以望雲水以從心, 指煙霞而抗跡. 僧之眞者, 必詣, 跡之古者, 必尋.

His master thus said, "You mind should not linger [at one single place]. May you rapidly move your feet and not stay at one place. My expectations in you have been verified." With a smile, he allowed him to leave. The Great Master, for the sake of [seeking] the path, considered it to be correct to travel far away. Thereupon he left the mountain [monastery], reaching the sea shore, where he looked out for the opportunity of a ship sailing west [to China]. In the spring of the first year of the Jingfu era (892),[37] there was a merchant ship bound for Han [China], which he managed to take and travel to the [country in the] west [i.e., to China]. [There] he [wandered] looking at clouds and rivers following his mind [i.e., he traveled around freely as he wished]. Heading for mist and rosy clouds,[38] he hid his traces. There were no genuine monks whom he did not go to see, there were no ancient vestiges [of Buddhist temples] which he did not seek out.

遂往舒州桐城縣寂住山, 謁投子禪和尙, 法號大同, 是石頭山法孫, 翠微無學大師之嫡胤也. 見大師, 蓮目殊姿, 玉毫異相, 乃曰, "其有東流之說, 西學之求者, 則可以與言道者, 唯子矣."

Then he went to Jizhu-shan in Tongcheng County, in Shuzhou, where he met the Chan Master Touzi, whose Dharma Title was Datong.[39] He was the

37 The Jingfu 景福 era (892–894) refers to the reign of the Tang Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗, corresponding to the reign of Queen Chinsŏng in Silla.

38 "Mist and rosy clouds" (*yanxia* 煙霞) refer to the sublime landscape scenery in the mountains. See *Nanyue Hengshan zhuzhen guan bei* [Stele of Jiuzhen guan on Heng-shan, Nanyue] 南岳衡山九貞館碑: "The (sounds of the) flutes and drums raise into the sky, the mist and rosy clouds join up" 簫鼓騰空 煙霞相接.

39 Chan Master Touzi Datong 投子大同 (819–914) was a disciple of Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學, in the lineage of Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思. He was the son of a certain Liu 劉 in Huaining 懷寧, Shuzhou 舒州 (Anhui 安徽 Province). He became a monk during his childhood. While studying the Huayan jing he had a minor awakening experience (i.e., he discovered his nature or nature-sea 性海). Thereupon he went to visit Cuiwei Wuxue and awakened to the arcane essence (xuanzhi 玄旨).

Dharma descendant of Shitou Xiqian,[40] and the legitimate heir of the Great Master Cuiwei Wuxue. Having seen the Great Master's peculiar features of his lotus-shaped eyes and the unique feature of his white curl between the eyebrows,[41] he [Touzi] said [to the Great Master], "Although there is the theory that the Dharma flows Eastwards [to Silla Korea], among those who came Westwards [to China] to seek it, there is only you who is worthy to talk about the path."

> 大師, 於是, 悟微言於舌底, 認眞佛於身中, 豈止於承善逝之密傳, 奉淨名之默對而已矣. 大師, 將辭投子和尚, 因謂曰, "莫遠去, 莫近去." 大師答云, "雖然非遠近, 要且不停留." 和尚曰, "旣驗心傳, 何須目語." 介後, 旁求勝友, 歷謁高師, 或索隱於天台, 或探玄於江左, 入眞如之性海, 得摩尼之寶珠也. 迺以鵬必變於天池, 鶴須歸於遼海, 有始有卒, 念玆在玆.

Thereupon the Great Master awakened upon [having heard] these profound words on his tongue, and realized that the true Buddha was located within his own body [and not outside somewhere else]. How could this merely be limited to inheriting the secret transmission of the Well Departed [i.e., the Buddha] to Mahākaśyapa, or to upholding the silent reply of Vimalakīrti [to Manjuśrī]! As the Great Master was about to take leave from Touzi, the Master [Touzi] said to him, "Do not go too far away, do not go too near." The Great Master replied, "Although I shall neither be

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Afterwards, he undertook extensive journeys to visit renowned Chan masters. Finally, he returned to his native place where he lived in seclusion on Touzi-shan 投子山. Still later on, he met Zhaozhou 趙州 in Tongcheng 桐城 Prefecture. He then finally settled down on Touzi-shan, dedicating himself to teaching monks and lay disciples for over thirty years. He died in 914 at the age of ninety-six. See *Zutangji* 祖堂集 vol. 6, "Biography of Reverend Touzi" (Touzi heshang zhuan 投子和尚傳), and *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 vol. 15.

40 The dharma-lineage of Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷 is as follows: Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思→ Shitou Xiqian 石頭希遷→ Danxia Tianran 丹霞天然→ Cuiwei Wuxue 翠微無學→ Touzi Datong 投子大同→ and Wŏnjong Ch'anyu 元宗璨幽 from Silla.

41 Lit. "jade-hair" (*yuhao* 玉毫) refers to the ūrṇā or white curl between the Buddha's eyebrows, from which he sent forth his ray of light illuminating all worlds.

far nor near, I still don't want to remain [anywhere]." The master said, "As you have experienced the transmission of the mind, what necessity is there in communicating with the eyes." Therafter, he searched everywhere for excellent [spiritual] friends and toured the country to meet eminent teachers. Sometimes he sought those reclused hermits on Tiantai-shan, sometimes he sought the arcane in Jiangzuo [i.e., the region south of the Yangzi estuary].[42] He entered into the nature-sea of true suchness and obtained the maṇi jewel. Then it was as if the Peng bird transmuted into the heavenly pond[43] or as if the crane returned to the extensive ocean.[44] If there is a beginning, there must be an end, and thinking about this [the master wanted] to be here [in his native country].

> 適值本國歸舟, 因而東棹, 貞明七年, 秋七月, 達康州德安浦, 逕詣鳳林, 歸覲眞鏡大師. 師曰, "適當今日." 深喜相逢, 別飄飾, 禪堂, 俾昇譚座, 聽西訪之眞法, 慶東歸之妙緣. 縱容謂曰, "人有老少, 法無先後." 介其佩如來之密印, 演迦葉之秘宗. 宜住三郎寺, 爲禪伯矣. 大師應奉而住更三冬, 迺以爲當寺誠樂道之清齋, 乃安禪之勝践. 尙以鳥則擇木, 吾豈包瓜. 伏聞, 我太祖神聖大王, 懷斗膺期, 握褒啓聖革夏, 受顧天之命, 載周興出日之邦.

Just at that time, there was a ship about to return to his home country, and so the master headed East. On the seventh month of autumn, the seventh year of the Zhenming era (921),[45] the master arrived in Tŏkanp'o in

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42 Jiangzuo 江左 refers to the region south of the Yangzi estuary, corresponding to the region in present-day Jiangsu Province.

43 The heavenly pond (*tianchi* 天池) refers to the "great pond" (*dachi* 大池), that is, the ocean. See *Zhuangzi* 莊子, "Free and Easy Roaming" chapter [Xiaoyaoyou 逍遙遊]: "This bird sets off for the southern darkness[/ocean], which is the pond of Heaven" 將徙於南溟 南溟者 天池也.

44 The extensive ocean (*liaohai* 遼海), also referred to as *liaohe* 遼河 (extensive river) is an ocean in the north where many cranes allegedly live.

45 The Zhenming 貞明 era (915–921) refers to the reign of the Late Liang 後梁 Emperor Mo 末 and coincides with the reign of King Kyŏngmyŏng in Silla.

Kangju,[46] from where he directly went to Pongnim-sa[47] to inform the Great Master Chingyŏng of his return. The master said, "It is just right that we met again today!" and was profoundly delighted about this meeting. He especially had a Sŏn hall adorned [for the occasion] and had the master to ascend the [high] seat and deliver a discourse,[48] and listened to the genuine teaching that he had acquired during his journey to the West and congratulated him for the sublime karmic affinity that had allowed him to return East. In a composed fashion, the Great Master said, "Human beings are characterized by youth and old age, but there is no before or after concerning the Dharma." Likewise, he was in possession of the secret seal of the Tathāgata, and he expounded the secret teaching of Kāśyapa.[49] Then it was suitable for him to take residence at Samnang-sa and to act in the function of Sŏn Master [overseeing the training of Sŏn practitioners].[50] The Great Master consented upholding [Chingyŏng's advice] and resided there for three winters. Thereupon, he realized that this monastery was truly a pure complex of buildings for rejoicing in [the cultivation of] the path and an excellent place to stabilize oneself in the practice of Sŏn. "Still, as birds select a tree [to rest upon], how could I possibly hang on a gourd?[51] With deference, I have heard that our Great King T'aejo [lit., the founding monarch of the dynasty]

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46 Kangju 康州 is the ancient name for Chinju in Southern Kyŏngsang Province.

47 Pongnim-sa 鳳林寺 was located in Changwŏn County, Southern Kyŏngsang Province.

48 The [high] seat, here *tanzuo* 譚座, is another term for *fazuo* 法座 or *fachuang* 法床.

49 The secret teaching of Mahākāśyapa (*jiaye zhi mizong* 迦葉之秘宗) refers to the teaching of Chan, which is "secret" for being transmitted from mind to mind.

50 The term translated as Sŏn Master is *chanbo* 禪伯. Bo is an honorific occurring also in the words *houbo* 侯伯, *jiangbo* 講伯, and *huabo* 畫伯.

51 Hang on a gourd (*baogua* 包瓜), also *paogua* 匏瓜. Refers to gourds or cucumbers which remain stuck to their stems until plucked or ripened enough to fall. This is used here as a metaphor for holding fast to one's native place instead of going abroad to experience the wide world. See the *Lunyu* 論語, Yanghuo Chapter (陽貨): "The master said, 'Am I a bitter gourd! How can I be hung up out of the way of being eaten?" 子曰 吾豈匏瓜哉 焉能繫而不食 言滯一逅而不自在也.

Sinsŏng [i.e., T'aejo Wang Kŏn],[52] entertaining the great aspiration[53] of receiving the throne[54] and grasping the auspicious opportunity [of creating a new dynasty],[55] started a [new] dynasty, like King Shun of Xia who performed a revolution, obtained the mandate of heaven and carried on the prosperity of the country of Zhou like that of a country where the sun rises."

遂乃片月遊空, 孤雲出岫. 彼蒼龍濟浪, 本無憑筏之心, 丹鳳冲虛, 猶有栖梧之志, 遠携藜杖, 逕詣玉京, 遂入覲太祖大王. 大王, 以大師, 玄道周行, 法身圓對, 艿請住廣州天王寺, 遂從之住焉, 居則化矣. 而以慧目山, 乃霞嶠, 偏宜於宴坐, 雲溪, 甚愜於禪居, 迻而住焉. 於是, 四遠問津者, 視千里猶跬步, 如雲來者, 似海納之, 莫不犇馳, 善道以憧憧, 出入玄門而濟濟.

Thereupon [the master] was like the crescent moon wandering in the empty sky, or like a solitary cloud coming forth from the mountain caves. He was like that dark green dragon crossing the ocean waves, having a mind originally not relying on a raft [after having crossed the sea of suffering]; or like the [red] phoenix [flying] in the empty heavens, still having the will to roost on a paulownia tree. He traveled far away with his walking staff,[56]

52 King T'aejo Sinsŏng 太祖神聖大王 refers to T'aejo Wang Kŏn, the founding monarch of the Koryŏ dynasty.

53 Literally, "entertaining the Big Dipper" (*huaidou* 懷斗), refers to having a mind aspiring to the welfare and safety of the people.

54 The term *yingji* 膺期 refers to being confronted with a decisive opportunity. That is, Heaven's fate (or will; *tianyun* 天運) approaches an individual, providing him with the opportunity to ascend the throne. See Yan Shu 晏殊 "Jin liangdisanguan mudan shibiao" 進兩制三館牡丹詩表: "Memorial sending a poem on the peonies of the twice prepared three halls"?, "Emperor Shun confronted the decisive opportunity; and there was Gao Yao's continuation [of grief?]" 虞舜膺期 有臯陶之賡. Gao Yao was a minister under Shun who created law and prisons.

55 To "grasp the auspicious opportunity" is a rendering for *wobao* 握褒, referring to the King Shun 舜 who had the pattern of the character *bao* 褒 written(/formed) in the palm of his hand, and which refers to achieving auspiciousness. The term *qisheng* 啓聖, literally "unfolding the noble" refers to unfolding his hand and manifesting the auspicious character bao, or to create a new dynasty.

56 The term rendered as "walking staff" is *qingli* 青藜, lit. "a staff made of dried blue rattan", and

directly heading for the Jade Capital [i.e., the royal capital Kaegyŏng],[57] where he then presented himself for an audience with the Great King T'aejo. The Great King [praised] the Great Master for his [realization of the] arcane path and his perfected practice, [as well as for being] the perfect manifestation of the Dharma-body. Then he requested him to reside at Ch'ŏnwang-sa in Kwangju, upon which the master obeyed and went to take up residence. Dwelling there, he engaged in teaching. But it was Hyemok-san, with its rosy clouds on its mountain peaks that was most suitable for sitting quietly [in Sŏn practice]. The cloud-covered mountain brooks were utterly refreshing for residing in Sŏn retreat. Thus he moved to dwell there. Thereupon, for those who came from the four quarters and far away to ask for guidance, a thousand li merely looked like half a step.[58] They came gathering like clouds, similar to the ocean receiving [a thousand rivers]. There were none who did not rush there, as he taught the virtuous path with dedication and continuously.[59] Those going in and out through the arcane gate [of his monastery] did so in a great number.[60]

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traditionally considered to be the walking staff of the immortals (*shenxian* 神仙). If thrown into water, the staff supposedly does not float horizontally, but in a vertical manner. See *Hanshu* 漢書, "Biography of Liu Xiang" (Liu Xiang zhuan) 劉向傳: "There was an old man in yellow clothes who leaned on a blue rattan cane, knocked on the chamber (door) and proceeded" 有老人 黃衣植青藜杖 叩閣而進.

57 The Jade Capital (*yujing* 玉京) in Daoism refers to the dwelling place of the heavenly emperor (tiandi 天帝). The term is also used to refer to the imperial capital (*huangdu* 皇都), and in this context, to the royal capital in Kaegyŏng.

58 The term for half a step, *kuibu* 跬步, occurs in the *Dadaili* 大戴禮, Quanxue (Encouragement of Learning) Chapter 勸學: "Therefore, if you do not add up half steps there is no way to travel a thousand *li*. Note, *kui* is a raising of a foot." 是故不積跬步 無以致千里 (注)跬 一擧足也. In the *Li(ji)* 禮 it is explained as "A perfect gentleman does not forget filial piety for half a step" 君子 跬步而不忘孝.

59 The expression for "to rush" is *chongchong* 憧憧, a term referring to the continuous coming and going in a busy street. See *Yi[jing]* 易, Xian 咸: "Rushing back and forth, a friend is comes from your longing" 憧憧往來 朋從爾思.

60 The term for "in a great number" here is *jiji* 濟濟, an abbreviation of *jiji duoshi* 濟濟多士. In the "Zhongcheng zhi mao zhuan" 衆盛之貌傳, it is explained as "濟濟 衆盛之貌." In the *Hanshu* 漢書 "Biography of Liu Xiang" (Liu Xiang zhuan 劉向傳), it is explained as 濟濟 多士 秉文之德.

太祖, 方當際會, 欲表因緣, 送霞衲衣幷座具. 未幾, 太祖天崩杞國, 日入虞泉. 念善始之芳因, 引終之玄路, 惠宗大王, 踐阼思恭, 奉先追孝, 興仁化俗, 重佛尊僧, 贄以茗馞幷紋羅法衣. 大師啓以佛心, 陳之神力.

Upon actually having met [the master], T'aejo desired to [publicly] express his karmic affinity[61] with him and sent him a red monastic robe[62] and a sitting cushion as a present. [But] before long, T'aejo passed away.[63] It was as if the sky collapsed in the state of Qi,[64] and as if the sun went down in the abyss of Yu. The master, being mindful of the wholesome beginning [of his interaction with the king],[65] performed the rite of leading the king's soul

61 The term for karmic affinity, *yinyuan* 因緣, refers to T'aejo as not only being a devout Buddhist, but also as seeking to establish a bond of master and disciple between himself and the Wŏngjong Taesa 元宗大師.

62 The term translated as "red monastic robe" is *xianayi* 霞衲衣 a.k.a *xiayi* 霞衣. It refers to a cloth "red like the sunset", a beautiful cloth, the clothes of Daoist immortals, the clothes of a beautiful woman, or as the case here, a red-colored cloth. King T'aejo bestowed a red monastic robe made of silk, a red *kāṣāya* (*hong jiasha* 紅袈裟)- to the Sŏn Master. References to a red robe occur in a poem of the Tang Emperor Zhongzong 中宗, the "Shicongshi" 石淙詩 (霞衣霞錦千般狀 雲峯雲岫百重生) and in a poem of Wang Zhenbai 王貞白, the "Ji tiantai yecunshe shi" (Poem Sent to Venerable Ye of Tiantai) 寄天台葉尊者詩): "Picking medicinal plants the red robe is moistened, Steaming mushrooms the old vessel is scorched" 採藥霞衣濕 煎芝古鼎焦.

63 The term used to refer to T'aejo's death is *Tianbeng* 天崩, an abbreviation of *tianbeng diche* 天崩地坼, literally meaning "heaven collapses and the earth splits open." The term occurs in the *Shiji* 史記 "Biography of Lu Zhonglian" (Lu Zhonglian zhuan 魯仲連傳): 周烈王崩 齊後往 周怒赴於齊曰 天崩地坼 天子下度 東蕃之臣 因齊後至 則斮.

64 The state of Qi (Qiguo 杞國, also *qiyou* 杞憂, *qiren yutian* 杞人憂天) refers to groundless fears. The origin of this expression is as folows: there was a certain individual in the country of Qi who was worried that there was no place to flee if the sky should collapse and fall on earth. His worries caused him to abstain from eating and sleep. See *Liezi* 列子,Tianrui Chapter 天瑞: 杞國有人 憂天崩墜 身亡無所寄 廢寢食者 又有憂彼之所憂者 因往曉之曰 天積氣耳 奈何憂崩墜乎 其人曰 天果積氣 日月星宿不當墜邪 曉之者曰 日月星宿 亦積氣中 有光曜者 只使墜 亦不能有所中傷 其人曰 奈地壞何 曉者曰地積塊耳 奈何憂其壞 其人舍然大喜 曉之者 亦舍然大喜. In this inscription, "groundless fear" refers to T'aejo worrying about the future of his country after his death.

65 The term rendered as "wholesome beginning" is *shanshi* 善始, an abbreviation of *shanshi shanzong* 善始善終, literally "good beginning and good end", where beginning and end refers to birth and death. Therefore the individual cultivating the path acknowledges the inevitability of both and

to his final destination by leading him through the dark road to the Pure Land.[66] [Thereupon] the Great King Hyejong[67] ascended the throne and, with reverent thoughts, venerated his ancestor the late king, cherishing his memory with filial piety. He promoted humaneness and improved customs, worshipped the Buddha and respected the monks, by presenting them with tea and incense, as well as Dharma-robes made of patterned silk. The Great Master enlightened the people by means of the Buddha mind, and he displayed his supernormal powers.

越三年, 恭王昇遐, 定宗大王, 統承寶業, 瞻仰眞風, 送雲衲袈裟. 磨衲法衣, 大師深喜, 聖朝聿興佛事. 豈悟遽宮車於雲闕, 俄脫屣於人寰.

Three years later, King [Ŭigong][68] passed away and the Great King Chŏngjong succeeded him on the throne [lit. in the precious enterprise]. He held the true style [of the master] in high veneration and sent him as a present a cloud robe [i.e., the patched robe (*kāṣāya*) of a wandering monk] and a [ceremonial] Dharma robe.[69] The Great Master profoundly rejoiced and performed Buddhist services for the flourishing of the present dynasty. How could one possibly have foreseen the sudden departure of the royal carriage from the royal palace, the sudden taking off of his sandals from the human realm?

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lives according to the path of nature in all situations. The term occurs in *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Dazongshi Chapter 大宗師篇: "He delights in early death; he delights in old age; he delights in the beginning; he delights in the end"善夭善老 善始善終. Watson, p. 81.

66 The term occurring here is *yinchizhong zhi xuanlu* 引飭終之玄路. It refers to leading the soul of the departed at the moment of death through the dark path of the netherworld to be reborn into the Pure Land.

67 King Hyejong 惠宗 (r. 943–945) was the second king in the Koryŏ dynasty.

68 Ŭigong 義恭 is the posthumous title of Hyejong 惠宗 (r. 943–945), the second king of the Koryŏ dynasty.

69 The terms *unnap kasa* 雲衲袈裟 and *manap pŏbŭi* 磨衲法衣 refers to a pilgrim's robe and a robe for ceremonies, respectively. The term *nap* 衲 itself already refers to a monastic robe, the *kasa* 袈裟 (S. *kaṣāya*) or the *pŏbŭi* 法衣 ("Dharma cloth").

今上當璧承基, 垂衣理國, 握鏡炤龍邦之俗, 吹篪, 弘鷲嶺之風, 益顯聖功, 增崇佛化. 大師演心王之妙訣, 宣覺帝之微言, 朗鏡忘疲, 洪鍾待扣. 衆學有稻麻之列, 朋來成桃李之蹊, 上乃信向心深, 欽承志至.

The Current King performed the rite of ascending to the throne and governed the country by grasping the [precious] mirror and shining on the confucian customs, by blowing the flute and promoting the teaching style of Vulture Peak [i.e., Buddhism], thereby increasing the manifestation of his royal merits and increasing his veneration for the transformation [of the country] by the Buddha's teachings. The Great Master expounded the sublime secrets of the sovereign mind, propagated the profound words [i.e., the profound teaching] of the Awakened Emperor [i.e., the Buddha, the Dharma-rāja], like a bright mirror making one forget one's fatigue or like a enormous [temple] bell waiting to be struck. The assembly of monks studying [Sŏn] lined up like lines of rice and hemp, the group of people coming [to study under the master] formed a path of peaches and plums. The king's faith and mind regarding [the master] was profound, his admiration and intention towards him was likewise of the utmost degree.

遂奉師號, 爲證眞大師, 仍遣道俗重使, 遽飛芝檢, 徵赴金城. 大師, 以爲道之將行, 時不可失, 念付囑故, 吾其往矣, 遂出虎溪, 特詣龍闕. 於是, 雪眉清衆, 鷺序群英, 瞻法眼以珠聯, 對慈顏以環仰. 送至王城舍那院. 翌日, 上幸舍那院, 謝曰, 弟子, 望東林以引領, 向南澗以傾心.

Finally, he granted the master the title of Great Master Chŭngjin ["Realized Truth"] and repeatedly dispatched monks and lay envoys with a vermilion-ink written document inviting the master to come to the capital [lit. "golden city"]. The Great Master considered that he could not miss this opportunity to promote [the practice of] the [Buddhist] path. Remembering the [Buddha's] entrusting [the Dharma], he said "I shall go!" Finally, he left behind the "Tiger Brook" [i.e., his monastery] and especially went to present himself at the Royal palace for an audition with the king. Thereupon the pure assembly of elders [i.e., those with snow-white eyebrows], a gathering

of illustrious officials in order of seniority [lit. a sequence of herons] looked up in veneration to the master's Dharma-eye, their eyes shining like a string of pearls. They faced his compassionate visage, looking up to him like as if in a circle. They saw him off until Sana-wŏn in the royal capital. The following day, the king arrived at Sana-wŏn and thanked [the master] saying, "I, your disciple, was looking at Donglin-si for guidance and was looking to Nanjian-si[70] in admiration."

師尊隨機, 如飈谷之聲, 赴感似月潭之影. 瞻依更切, 鑽仰彌深. 越三日, 於重光殿, 開法筵, 及乎曳以金襴, 昇於紫殿. 上覩菓脣而禪悅, 奉蓮眼以精誠. 爲其環區, 申避席之儀, 擧國展書紳之志. 三歸益勵, 十善增修. 乃至, 芥子城空, 衣磨石盡, 必也, 見聖之良因不歇, 爲師之美道無窮. 卽以服冕, 奉爲國師, 虔虔結香火之緣, 慥慥結師資之禮, 仍獻踏納袈裟, 磨衲襖, 幷座具, 銀瓶, 銀香爐, 金釦瓷鉢, 水精念珠.

The respected master taught the Dharma in accordance with the [individual] faculties [of his audiences], he was like the sound of whirlwind in the valley. His faculty to elicit a sympathetic response [in the audience] was like the moon's reflection in a deep pond. His looking up in reverence became even more ardent, his veneration was ubiquitous and profound. Three days later, he provided a Dharma-banquet in the Chunggwang Hall, where he donned a golden robe and ascended the purple seat. The king seeing the master's determined lips, rejoiced in Sŏn, and he esteemed his lotus-eyes with the utmost sincerity. The surrounding audience performed the ceremony of avoiding the seat, [the officials of] the whole country presented their

70 Nanjian-sa 南澗寺 was located in the prefecture of Hangzhou 杭州, Zhejiang Province. The monastery was founded by Zhifeng 志逢 and restored by the Prince of Wuyue (吳越王). It was also known under the name of Fayu-si 法雨寺. In the Liu-Song dynasty, the monk Zhicheng resided in this monastery and received the patronage of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武 (r. 453–464). Zhicheng's secular surname was Pei 裵. He originated from Wenxi 聞喜 in Hedong 河東. He was well-versed in the vinaya and composed *Shisonglu yiji* 十誦律義記 in eight fascicles. He passed away at the age of seventy-two in 500. See *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳 vol. 11, "Biography of Shi Zhicheng" (*Shi Zhicheng zhuan* 釋智稱傳), T. 2059.50.402b.

determination by writing it on their sash. He encouraged [them to take] the three refuges and increased the practice of the ten wholesome actions. Even if [it takes as long as] a city emptied by a mustard-seed [amount one at time] or a [huge] rock to be reduced to dust [by sweeping it with a divine] garment[71] they must not rest until they obtain the good cause of seeing the Buddha. The king [wished] that the master's viruous path be without end, and he then donned his royal dress and crown, honoring [the master] as National Preceptor, with reverence forming a karmic connection [with the master] by burning incense. He performed with great sincerity the rite of forming the bond of teacher and disciple, and presented him with a silk kāṣāya robe, an outer [ceremonial] robe, a sitting cushion, a silver bottle, a silver incense burner, a gold-engraved earthenware alms bowl, and a rosary with crystal beads.

大師, 潭心有月, 嶽頂無雲. 一心宣妙覺之風, 千眼示大慈之化. 上乃大喜曰, "弟子聽玄言而達道, 承妙旨以知微, 奉以周旋, 不敢失墜." 迺於天德殿, 高敞法筵, 傾願海之千波, 爇心香之一炷. 大師纔麾麈尾, 乍動龍頤.

The Great Master's mind was like the moon reflected in a deep pond, like a cloudless peak of a lofty mountain. With his One Mind, he propagated the teaching of the [Buddha's] sublime awakening, with a thousand eyes; he indicated the teaching of [Avalokiteśvara's] great compassion. The king greatly rejoiced and said, "I, as your disciple, shall listen to your profound teaching and achieve the path, accept the sublime truth and understand the profound [Dharma]. I shall uphold it in all circumstances and not dare to let it be neglected." Thereupon he opened a large-scale Dharma-banquet in the Hall of Heavenly Virtue, during which he [produced] a vow as profound as the ocean and as wide as a thousand waves, lightening up a stick of the incense of the mind. The Great Master then waved his whisk, moving his face for a moment.

71 This refers to a "small kalpa", the time required to reduce an enormous large rock to dust by sweeping a celestial garment over it once every thousand years.

有僧問,“如何是向上一路.” 大師曰,“不從千聖得.” 又問,“旣不從千聖得, 從上相傳, 從何而有.” 大師曰,“只爲不從千聖得, 所以, 從上相傳.” 又問,“與麽卽二祖不望西天, 達摩不到唐土, 大師曰, 雖不從千聖得, 達摩不虛過來.” 於是, 人天感應, 賢聖喜歡.

[Then] a monk asked him, “What is the only road leading upward [i.e., Sŏn]?” The Great Master said, “It cannot be obtained from a thousand saints.” Again, he [monk] asked, “Since it cannot be obtained from a thousand saints, where does the transmission from patriarch to patriarch have its origins?” The Great Master said, “It is merely that it cannot be obtained from a thousand saints. Therefore [as it is obtained by oneself alone], it is transmitted from patriarch to patriarch.” Again, he [monk] asked, “If it is like this, then the second patriarch [Huike] would not have looked up to the Indian [patriarch Bodhidharma], and Bodhidharma would not have come to the land of Tang [China]?” The Great Master said, “Although it cannot be obtained from a thousand saints, Bodhidharma did not cross over [to China] in vain.” Thereupon, [having heard this] men and gods were moved and responded, worthies and sages were delighted.

花雨飛空, 檀煙蔽日, 彼摩騰赴漢, 僧會遊吳, 其奉佛之大功, 歸僧之專孅, 無以加也, 所謂, 四方咸賓, 萬世永賴, 當慧日再中之際, 是仁方丕變之時, 大師迺言曰, 老僧, 年迫桑楡, 齒衰蒲柳, 但願往松門而休足, 向金闕而歸心而已.

Flowers fell like rain, hovering in the sky, the smoke of sandal-wood incense covered the sun. It was like when Kāśyapa Mātaṇga went to Han China, or when Saṅghavarman journeyed to Wu China. Their great merit of upholding the Buddha in veneration, the single-minded subtlety of taking refuge in the saṃgha: there is nothing more than this! That is, people in the four directions all admired [the Great Master], for all generations, they [vowed] to rely on him forever. When the sun of wisdom was again rising high in the sky, this was the time for the benevolent country [i.e., Koryŏ] to undergo a great change. Thereupon the Great Master said, “I am now an old monk whose age approaches the sunset [of life]. My teeth are decayed, my

body is decrepit like a willow tree. I only wish to go to the Pine Tree Gate [i.e., my monastery] and rest my feet. I just take refuge in my mind by facing the golden palace.

上, 雖戀慈顔, 祇遵玄旨. 望象軒而目送, 瞻鴈刹以心傾. 介後, 馳星騎以傳情, 飛仙翰而寫懇, 迺製誦德詩, 寄獻曰,

Although the king yearned for the master's compassionate face and venerated his profound teaching, [he couldn't do anything but] look at the shape of the [master's] carriage and follow the departing carriage with his eyes. He looked up with respect to the monasteries [numerous as a flock of wild geese], his mind inclined towards them. Thereafter, he dispatched galloping [royal] horse riders to convey his feelings [to the master], and had [royal] letters sent to him [flying like the wind] in which he described his sincere devotion. Then he composed and sent him a poem celebrating [the master's] virtue. It goes as follows:

慧日高懸曜海鄉,
眞身寂寂現和光.
貝中演法開迷路,
鉢裡生蓮入定場.

The sun of wisdom hangs high [in the sky], shining upon the country [East of] the sea [i.e., Koryŏ],
The body of truth [i.e., the dharmakaya] is utterly calm, yet it manifests its harmonious light [in the secular world].
You proclaim the Dharma contained in palm-leaf sūtras, revealing it to [sentient beings] who are on a deluded road.
A lotus flower has blossomed in the alms bowl, it is the site where one enters into concentration [i.e., samādhi].

一唱成音收霧淨,

二門離相出塵涼.
玄關遠隔山川外,
恨不奔波謁上房.

A single roar becomes the sound dispersing the clouds [of ignorance] and cleansing [the mind].
The two gates transcend characteristics; they depart from the secular world and [dwell] in the coolness [of liberation].
The arcane gate is distant and remote, it lies outside [the world of] mountains and streams.
I regret that I cannot rush to have an audience with you, the abbot [in your upper quarters].

仍贄之以烏裎, 芳荈, 丹徼, 名香, 用表信心, 遙祈法力. 大師, 自辭天闕, 却到雲山. 煙蘿更叶於栖遲, 水石偏宜於枕漱, 心無限矣, 志有終焉.

He presented [this poem] with a black tonic beverage,[72] fragrant tea leaves, a red folding screen, and fine incense, as a token of his faithful mind, and to pray for the power of the Dharma from a distance. The Great Master left the royal palace and arrived at Unsan. [There] the mist and vines were intertwined [and suitable] for living in retreat, the water was suitable for rinsing out one's mouth and the rocks were suitable as a pillow. His mind [truly felt] limitless there. He was determined to end his days there.

於是, 擁毳者風趍, 攝齋者雲萃. 大師, 色空雙泯, 定惠俱圓, 行至道於山中, 施玄功於宇內, 則何異佛者覺也, 神而化之矣.

Thereupon those clad in rags [i.e., monks] came rushing like the wind,

72 A black tonic beverage (*wucheng* 烏裎): in Zhan Xie's 張協 *Qiming* 七命 it is explained that "Wucheng is found in Xingnan, whereas in Yubei there is Zhuye (lit. bamboo leaves)." 乃有刑南烏程豫北竹葉. Here, both Wucheng and Zhuye are names of wines. As wine is not a proper present for a monk, one has to surmise that it refers to some sort of tonic medicine instead.

those [lay people] providing vegetarian feasts gathered like clouds. The Great Master had extinguished both [realms of] form and emptiness, perfected both concentration and wisdom [i.e., samādhi and prajñā]. He practised the supreme path in the mountains and bestowed his arcane merit on the world. How could this possibly be different from the Buddha, which means the 'awakened' [one]? He is divine and has transformed [sentient beings].

> 顯德五年, 歲集敦牂, 秋八月, 月缺五日, 大師將化往, 盥浴訖, 房前命衆. 悉至于庭. 迺遺訓曰, "萬法皆空, 吾將往矣, 一心爲本, 汝等勉旃. 心生法生, 心滅法滅, 仁心卽佛, 寧有種乎. 如來正戒, 其護之勗之哉." 言畢入房, 儼然趺坐, 示滅於當院禪堂. 於戱, 應東身者, 九十春, 服西戒者, 六十九夏. 虎溪聲咽, 鵠樹色憂. 門生銜安仰之悲, 山老起其萎之歎. 緇白士女, 擗踴慟哭, 聲振巖谷.

On the fifth waning moon day of the eighth month in autumn, in the fifth year of the Xiande era [958], a year that gathered esteem, the Great Master, being about to depart and enter nirvāṇa, upon having taken a bath, ordered the assembly to gather in front of his quarters, and they all gathered in the front courtyard. Then he bequeated his last instruction: "The myriad of dharmas are all empty. I am about to leave. The One Mind is the basis. All of you must strenuously exert yourself in this endeavor! When mind is born [all] dharmas are born, and when mind is destroyed [all] dharmas are destroyed. A benevolent mind is the Buddha, how could there be any [other] kind? You should strive diligently to preserve the correct precepts of the Tathāgata!" Having ended his talk, he retired to his quarters, where, in a solemn fashion, he sat in a cross-legged posture and displayed his entering into nirvāṇa. This took place in the Sŏn Hall of the Kodal-wŏn. Alas! It has been ninety springs [i.e., years] since he had manifested his body in the East [i.e., the country of Koryŏ] as a response [to the needs of sentient beings], and it has been sixty-nine summers since he had taken the Western precepts [i.e., the precepts of a Buddhist monk]. The [monks on] Hyemok-san cried loudly, the color of the trees of the Crane Grove turned white out of sorrow. His disciples were filled with grief, wondering whom they should now look up to [for guidance]. The aged monks in the mountains lamented their own

decrepitude and weakness. Both monks and lay people, lay men and lay women, were beating their breasts and stamping their feet, weeping bitterly. The sound [of their lamenting] shook the cliffs and valleys.

翌日, 奉遷神座於慧目山, 龕觀, 顔色如生. 權施石戶封閉. 上聞之, '慨禪月之早沉, 嗟覺花之先落.' 降之星使, 吊以鵠書, 追諡元宗大師, 塔號惠眞. 敬造眞影一幢, 仍令國工, 攻石封層冢. 門人等, 號奉色身, 竪塔于慧目山西北崗, 遵像法也.

The next day, they respectfully moved [the master's] corpse to Hyemok-san. As they opened the mortuary niche, they saw that the color of the [master's] face was as if he was alive. The emplacement being selected, the stone stūpa [containing his enshrined remains] was sealed off. The king, having heard of the master's death, deplored 'the early setting of the moon of Sŏn, and sighed at the premature fall of the flower of awakening.' He dispatched a royal emissary[73] with his personal letter expressing his profound mourning, and he conferred on him the posthumous title of 'Great Master Wŏnjong', and the title "Hyejin" for his stūpa. [Furthermore] he respectfully had manufactured one [mortuary] portrait [of the master], and had state-commissioned artisans carve a multistorey-stūpa in stone. His [i.e., the master's disciples] wept aloud as they reverently carried [the remains of] his physical body to be enshrined in the stūpa erected on a north-western hill on Hyemok-san. This [rite] was carried out in compliance with the semblance Dharma [age].

大師, 心燈有焰, 定水無波, 智慧海融, 慈悲雲覆. 學佛悟禪之德行, 降魔鎭俗之威稜, 西遊顯顯之功, 東化巍巍之法, 遂使盤桃潤色, 若水生光. 其聖功也, 不可以知知, 其神化也, 不可以識識.

73 The term for royal emissary (*xingshi* 星使) originates from ancient astronomers who said: "In the sky, there is a star named shixing 使星 which supervises the emissaries of the son of heaven on earth." Therefore imperial emissaries are referred to as xingshi, literally "star emissaries." See *Houhanshu* 後漢書, "Biography of Li He" (*Li He zhuan* 李郃傳): 和帝分遣使者 觀採風謠 使者二人 到益投郃候舍 郃因仰觀 問曰 二君發時 寧知朝廷遣二使耶 問何以知之 郃指星示云 有二使星 向益分野 故知之.

The Great Master's lamp of the mind was alight with a [bright] flame, he was a calm sea without waves, his wisdom was like a [perfectly] interfused ocean, and his compassion was like a cloud covering [the whole world]. The virtuous conduct [resulting from] his study of the Buddha['s teaching] and awakening of Sŏn, the power [from] his subduing[74] Māra and subjugating the secular world, the merit of his journey west [to China] and teaching there, the power of the Dharma [he accumulated] by teaching in the Eastern Country and by teaching on the lofty mountains, –all these caused the peach of the immortals[75] to shine with a bright lustre, as if water emitted a ray of light. His saintly merit cannot be known by conceptual understanding, his spiritual transformation [of sentient beings] cannot be known by [mere] knowledge.

然, 猶法身無像, 必因像而宣功, 道體無言, 必因言而示教, 盍因妙有, 以驗眞空. 厥有大弟子, 兩街僧統, 三重大師, 昕弘等, 法苑鯨鍾, 禪門龜鏡. 踵慈軒之往轍, 繼法矩之餘輝. 喟然歎曰, "雖然秘說銘心, 若不奇蹤刻石, 則何以表一眞之法, 盡可有矣." 於是, 狀大師行, 覬大君恩, 請幼婦之文辭, 紀吾師之德業. 制曰, "可." 乃命翰林學士, 臣, 金廷彦曰, "故國師慧目大師, 行高雲外, 福潤人間, 汝宜鴻筆書勳, 玄碑紀茂."

Still, the dharmakāya is without form, but it necessarily manifests its merit by means of form. The essence of the path is without words, but its teaching is necessarily indicated by means of words. How can true emptiness be experienced if not by means of sublime existence? The master's great disciple Hŭnhong, superintendent of monks of the two divisions and triply

74 The term rendered as "power" is weileng 威稜, a term referring to the power and influence of the Son of Heaven or to divine power in general. See *Hanshu* 漢書, "Biography of Li Guang" (Li Guang zhuan 李廣傳): "Li Ji said, 'The awe of the divine spirit is called power'" 李奇曰 神靈之威曰稜.

75 The peach of the immortals (*pantao* 盤桃, also *tiantao* 天桃) refers to an imaginary peach that the Daoist immortals eat. Supposedly, whoever eats this peach lives for several thousands of years. As this peach is believed to grow on an island in the Eastern Sea (*donghai* 東海), it here refers to *Haedong* 海東, or to the Korean peninsula.

exalted Great Master,[76] as well as other monks, were the authorities [lit. "large whale-like temple bells"][77] within the Buddhist establishment [lit., "garden of the Dharma"], and the exemplary models of the Sŏn school. They followed the footsteps [of their master] in the house of compassion and inherited the afterglow of his torch of the Dharma. With a deep sigh, they lamented and said, "Although we have inscribed [our master's] secret teachings on our minds, if we do not engrave his extraordinary traces [i.e., his biography] on stone, how can the one true teaching be expressed and preserved for evermore?" Thereupon, they composed the Great Master's account of conduct, and, hoping for the Great Ruler's favor, they requested him to compose a refined preface,[78] so that the virtuous deeds of our master could be recorded [on his stūpa's stele]. The king gave his approval and ordered me, his subject Kim Chŏng-ŏn,[79] a Scholar of the Royal (Confucian) Academy, saying, "The conduct of the late State Preceptor, the Great Master Hyemok, is lofty and higher than the clouds, his merit [and virtue] soaks the human realm.

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76 The Triply Exalted Great Master (*samjung taesa* 三重大師) is a rank in the hierarchy of monks in the Koryŏ dynasty. Since the early Koryŏ, the so-called Nine Mountains (*kusan* 九山) of Sŏn and the Five Teachings (*ogyo* 五教) of Kyo held monk-examinations and conferred ranks upon the successful candidates. The hierarchy of ranks in the Sŏn school was as follows: *taesŏn* 大選, *taedŏk* 大德, *taesa* 大師, *chungdaesa* 重大師, *sanjungdaesa* 三重大師, *sŏnsa* 禪師, *taesŏnsa* 大禪師. In the Kyo school, the succession of ranks was *taesŏn* 大選, *taedŏk* 大德, *taesa* 大師, *chungdaesa* 重大師, *samjungdaesa* 三重大師, *sujwa* 首座, and *sŭngt'ong* 僧統. Note that some scholars do not consider taesŏn as a rank. (See Hŏ Hŭng-sik, *Koryŏ Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* 高麗佛教史研究 (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1986, p. 327).

77 *Jingzhong* 鯨鐘 (lit., "whale-bell"): in Buddhist monasteries, there are large and smaller bells. The large bells are referred to as *fanzhong* 梵鍾 or jingzhong. They are struck at dawn, mealtime, dusk, and retiring to sleep. The smaller bells are struck in the monk hall and the Dharma hall during the ceremonies held therein.

78 A refined preface is a translation for *youfu zhi wenci* 幼婦之文辭. The expression *youfu* 幼婦 is explained in "yellow pongee 黃絹, youthful wife 幼婦 maternal grandson 外孫 and spicy plants squashed in a mortar 齏臼. See p. 112 note 62 above.

79 Kim Chŏng-ŏn 金廷彥 was a literatus and a minister in the Koryŏ dynasty. He held the posts of Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, Grand Councilor, Scholar of the Royal (Confucian) Academy, Chief of the Royal Personnel, former Commissioner of the Ministry of Rites, Vice Grand Councilor, and Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History.

It is appropriate for you to use your great literary skills[80] to write down his meritorious achievements so that they can be profusely recorded on his stele."

> 臣, 觳汗四匝. 拜稽首曰, "臣夜繩易惑, 空縷難分, 以淺近之麽才, 紀玄微之景行. 其猶蟾宮攬月, 驪海探珠矣. 設使蒼天倚杵之時, 碧海褰裳之際, 所望玄功可久, 妙蹟猶存, 因敢美盛德之形容, 庶有補於將來僧史." 重宣其義, 遂爲銘云,

I, the king's subject, quivered and sweated profusely from my four limbs. I bowed and prostrated myself on the ground, saying [to the king], "I, your humble subject, am easily confused by a rope at night, mistakenly perceiving it as a snake. I have difficulties discerning a thread in the air. Using my shallow and petty talent to record the arcane and profound grand acts [of the master] is like attempting to grasp the moon[81] with one's hands, or like seeking the pearl [below the jaw] of the black dragon in the ocean.[82] I wish that the master's arcane merit lasts for a long time, and that his sublime traces be preserved up to the time when the blue sky [will be so close to the earth that it can] lean on a pestle, or when the blue ocean [will dry up

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80 The term rendered as great literary skills, *hongbi* 鴻筆, occurs in the *Lunyu* 論語, Xusong Chapter 須頌: 古之帝王 建鴻德者 必須鴻筆之臣 褒頌紀載 鴻德乃彰 萬世乃聞 問說書者 欽明文思以下 誰所言也 曰 篇家也 篇家誰也 孔子也 然則孔子鴻筆之人也.

81 The expression for "moon" here is *changong* 蟾宮, literally "the toad in the moon." See Yuan Jiao's 袁郊 poem "Yueshi 月詩" [Poem on the Moon]: "Chang E stole the medicine (of immortality) and left the human world; she kept it in the toad palace [moon] and did not allow its return" 嫦娥竊藥出人間 藏在蟾宮不肯還. Other similar expressions are *yuegong* 月宮, *yuhun* 玉魂, *yulun* 玉輪, *yujing* 玉鏡, and *yutu* 玉兎.

82 The black dragon (*lilong* 驪龍) is explained in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子, Lieyukou Chapter 列禦寇: "There's a poor family down by the river who make their living by weaving articles out of mugwort. The son was diving in the deepest part of the river and came upon a pearl worth a thousand pieces of gold. His father said to him, 'Bring a rock and smash it to bits! A pearl worth a thousand in gold could only have come from under the chin of the Black Dragon who lives at the bottom of the ninefold depths. To be able to get the pearl, you must have happened along when he was asleep" 河上有家貧 恃緯蕭而食者 其子沒於淵 得千金之珠 其父謂其子曰 云云 千金之珠 必在九重之淵 而驪龍含下 子能得珠者 必遭其睡也. Watson, p. 360.

so that] one can cross [it] by merely lifting one's clothes. Because of this, I dare to eulogize his grand virtue, so that it may supplement in many ways a future history of monks." Having repeatedly declared this intention, I finally composed the inscription as follows:

大哉妙覺,
邈矣眞宗.
玄玄示化,
黙黙宣風.

Great is the sublime awakening, distant and profound the true teaching [of Sŏn]!
Arcane and profound is the manifestation of your transformation [i.e., teaching]. Preserving utter silence, you preach the teaching [of Sŏn].

眞有非有,
眞空不空.
蓮開水上,
月出星中.

True existence is not existence, true emptiness is not empty.
The lotus flower blossoms on the water, the moon appears among the stars.

溥率見之,
人天仰止.
注意玄河,
歸心佛理.

All can see it, men and gods look up to it.
The intention is focused on the profound river [of truth], the mind reverts to the truth of the Buddha.

味之禪悅,
飫以法喜.
誰其有之,
唯我師矣.

Having tasted the joy of Sŏn, one is satiated by the joy of the Dharma. Who has accomplished this? Only our master!

蔚爲將聖,
欽若空王.
傳心寂住,
抗跡輝光.

In the blue sky, a saint is soaring high; he is venerated like the King of Emptiness [i.e., the Buddha].
The transmission from mind to mind allowed him to dwell in calmness; his traces [i.e., feats] were equal to bright light.

乘杯泛泛,
捨筏堂堂.
去傳迦葉,
來化扶桑.

Riding a boat crossing through the vast ocean [to China], he then discarded the raft and in a dignified manner [visited eminent masters].
He left to obtain the transmission from Kāśyapa [i.e., the Sŏn lineage], he came back transforming the country of Fusang [i.e., Koryŏ] [through his propagation of Sŏn].

佛日再中,
法雲丕冒.
邦國師資,
君臣邂逅.

Buddha's sun has again ascended in the middle of the sky, the Dharma cloud is so vast as to cover [the entire earth].
The country['s king] formed with him the bond of master and disciple, king and subjects gathered to meet [the master].

可料禪庭,
俄傾恵搆.
鷄足潛輝,
龍頤曷遘.

Those worthy of becoming vessels of the Dharma gathered in the Sŏn courtyard [i.e., at the master's temple], soon they were inclined to [the master's] wisdom.
Hidden in his stūpa on Mt. Kukkutapāda ["Kyejok-san"], he emits a luster.[83] But when can we meet again with his August face [lit. dragon chin]?

開寶八季, 龍集淵獻, 十月日, 立,
刻字, 李貞順.

Erected on a day[84] of the tenth month in the eighth year of the Kaibao era (975).[85]
Engraved by Yi Chŏng-sun.

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83 After having received the mind-to-mind transmission from Śākyamuni, symbolized by the robe and bowl (衣鉢), Mahākaśyapa entered into nirvana on Mt. Kukkutapāda. The brightness refers to just that event, the entering into nirvana.

84 The day in question is referred to as *yuanxian* 淵獻 (or *dayuanxian* 大淵獻), which corresponds to the *hai* 亥 character, the twelfth and last of the Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支). See *Erya* 爾雅, "Explanations of the heavens" (*Shitian* 釋天): "When Jupiter is in *hai* it is called *dayuanxian*" 太歲在亥曰大淵獻.

85 The Kaibao 開寶 era (968–976) refers to the reign of Song Emperor Taizu 太祖 and coincides with the reign of King Kwangjong 光宗 in Koryŏ.

裏面 Reverse side.

年代: 高麗 景宗 二年 丁丑 (977)

The second year of the reign of the Koryŏ [King] Kyŏngjong, the fourteenth year of the sexagenary cycle.

乾德九年, 歲次辛未, 十月, 二十一日, 於元和殿, 開讀大藏經時, 皇帝陛下, 詔曰, 國內寺院, 唯有(三處), 只留不動, 門下弟子, 相續住持, 代代不絕, 以此爲矩, 所謂高達院, 曦陽院, 道峯院, 住持三寶, 須憑國主之力, 所以, 釋迦如來出世道, 佛法付囑國王大臣, 是以我皇帝陛下, 情深敬重, 釋門妙理, 共結良因, 軌矩恒流.

On the twenty-first day of the tenth month in the eighth year of the sexagenary cycle, the ninth year of Qiande era [971], when His majesty the Emperor [attended the ceremony of] initiating the recitation of the Tripitaka in the Yuanhe Hall, he issued a decree which said, "Among the monasteries in [our] country, there are only three who preserve [the tradition], without moving [away from it]. May the [master's] disciples, in mutual succession, [be appointed] as abbots, so that [the master's lineage be perpetuated] from generation to generation without interruption. This [I proclaim henceforth] to be a rule." [The three monasteries in question are] the Kodal-wŏn, Hŭiyang-wŏn, and Tobong-wŏn. The abbots of [these] three jewels must rely on the power of the Lord of the State. The reason is that [when] the Tathāgata of the Śākya appeared in the world, he said that he entrusted the Buddhist Dharma to [the protection of] the king and his great ministers. Therefore, His Majesty our Emperor feels a profound respect for the sublime principle of Buddhism and together formed a connection with the good cause, so that [this] regulation may always flow forth.

門下弟子, 道俗等, 姓名, 如後.
重大師 同光,
重大師 幸近,

大師 傳印,
大德 金鏡,
三重大師 訓善,
重大師 俊解,
大德 勝演,
大德 義光,
大師 全狀,
大德 僧奇,
和尚 幸希,
和尚 幸海,
和尚 幸位,
僧摠 戒定,
大統 談弘,
大德 幸吉 等, 五百餘人.

The names of his monastic and lay disciples are as follows.
Exalted Great Master Tonggwang,
Exalted Great Master Haenggŭn,
Great Master Chŏn'in,
Great Virtuoso Kŭmgyŏng,
Triply Exalted Great Master Hunsŏn,
Exalted Great Master Chunhae,
Great Virtuoso Sŭngyŏn,
Great Virtuoso Ŭigwang,
Great Master Chŏnjang,
Great Virtuoso Sŭngmaeng,
Venerable Haenghŭi,
Venerable Haenghae,
Venerable Haengwi,
Superintendent of Monks Kyejŏng,
Great Superintendent Tamhon,
Great Virtuoso Haenggil, and over five hundred other monks.

三剛典.
院主僧 孝安.
典座僧 幸崇.
直歲僧 法元.
維那僧 幸溫.
門下刻字僧 幸言, 慶然, 宗能, 廣規.
塔名使 太相 神輔,
副使 佐尹 令虛,
送葬使 正輔 信康,
副使 佐尹 圭康,
齋使 元尹 守英,
祿僧史 英順,
修碑使 卿 圭凝,
直務 憲規,
掌持筆硯官 眞書 左直學生 李弘廉,
石匠 仍乙希.

Office of the Three Superiors of the monastery:
Abbot Hyo'an,
Director of religious services (vihārapāla) Haengsung,
Labor Steward Monk Pŏbwŏn,
Rector (karmadāna) Haeng'on.

Monks who engraved the disciples['names]: Haeng'ŏn, Kyŏngyŏn, Chongnŭng, Kwanggyu.

Envoy who delivered the stūpa name: Grand Councilor Sin Po.
Vice Commissioners: Adjunct Magistrate Yŏng Hŏ.
Envoy taking part in the funeral procession: Chŏng Po, Sin Kang.
Vice Commissioner: Adjunct Magistrate Kyu Kang.
Envoy for the vegetarian feast: Head Magistrate Su Yŏng.
Envoy for condolence money: Yŏng Sun.
Envoy for building the stūpa: Minister Kyu Ŭng

Directly in charge [with building the stūpa] Hŏn Kyu

Official directly commissioned with brush and inkstone: Mantra calligrapher and writer and Adjunctly commissioned Yi Hong-ryŏm.

Stone artisan: Ing Ŭl-hŭi.

始丙寅年, 郢工碑塔, 終至丁丑年, 功畢也.

The construction of the stūpa inscription was begun in the third year of the sexagenary cycle and completed in the fourteenth year of the sexagenary cycle.

院主僧 孝安.
典座僧 幸崇.
維那僧 幸溫.
直歲僧 法圓.

Abbot Hyo'an,
Director of religious services (vihārapāla) Haengsung,
Labor Steward Monk Pŏbwŏn,
Rector (karmadāna) Haeng'on.

VI

STELE INSCRIPTION OF PŎBIN T'ANMUN (海美 普願寺 法印國師 寶乘塔碑文)

6.

Stele Inscription of Pŏbin T'anmun

海美 普願寺 法印國師 寶乘塔碑文

Stele Inscription of Posŭng Stūpa for the National Preceptor Pŏbin at Powŏn-sa in Haemi.

迦耶山, 普願寺, 故國師, 制贈謚法印, 三重大師之碑.[題額]

[Stele] Inscription of the Triply Exalted Great Master, posthumously titled Pŏbin, late National Preceptor, at Powŏn-sa on Kaya-san.

高麗國, 運州, 迦耶山, 普願寺, 故國師, 制贈謚法印, 三重大師, 寶乘之塔碑銘, 幷序.
光祿大夫, 太丞, 翰林學士, 前內奉令, 臣, 金廷彦, 奉制, 撰.
儒林郎, 司天臺博士, 臣, 韓允, 奉制, 書幷篆額.

Stele Inscription and Preface of Posŭng Stūpa for the Triply Exalted Great Master, posthumously titled Pŏbin, late National Preceptor, at Powŏn-sa on Kaya-san, Unju, Koryŏ country. Composed upon royal order by the subject Kim Chŏng-ŏn, Grand Master for Splendid Happiness, Grand Councilor, Scholar of the Royal (Confucian) Academy, Former Chief of the Royal Personnel.

Written out and inscribed in seal script upon royal order by the subject Han Yun, Gentleman-Confucian and Erudite[1] of the Bureau of Astronomy[2].

1 Hucker 4746

恭惟, 覺帝釋迦, 鵠樹昇遐之後, 儲君彌勒, 龍華嗣位之前, 代有其仁, 心同彼佛, 佛者覺耶. 師而行之故, 使蒸棗海隅, 引玄津而更. 廣蟠桃山側, 撝慧日以重光, 卽以道之尊, 爲王者師, 德之厚, 爲衆生父. 況乃釋氏三藏, 有六義, 內爲戒定慧, 禪之根也, 外爲經論律, 敎之門也. 誰其全之, 實大師矣.

Respectfully considering that after the Emperor of Awakening, the [Buddha] Śākyamuni, passed away [between] the trees of the Crane Grove, and before the crown prince Maitreya succeeds to the throne [at his assembly] at the Dragon-flower [tree], there are during these generations, benevolent beings whose mind is identical to that of the Buddha. "Buddha" means "awakened being." Because the master practiced this, he made steamed jujube [put it into practice] in the corner of the ocean [i.e., the Korean peninsula] to lead them across the arcane ford [to the other shore of salvation] and to correct them, bringing them to the extensive mountain-side of the peach of immortality, making the sun of wisdom to [brightly] shine forth again. He whose path is [worthy of] respect was selected as the king's preceptor. Because of the generosity of his virtue, he was considered as the father of sentient beings. Moreover, there are six categories within the three baskets (tripitaka) of Śākyamuni: the inner [categories are the threefold training of] śīla, samādhi, and prajñā, which are the foundations of Sŏn; the outer [categories are the threefold textual collections of] sūtra, śāstra, and vinaya, which are the gate of Kyo [i.e., Doctrine]. The one who was completely [conversant] with them was truly [no one other than] the Great Master!

大師法號, 坦文, 字大悟, 俗緣高氏, 廣州高㷇人也. 祖陟, 鍾德無疆, 成功有裕. 曾作一同之長果, 彰三異之芳父. 能花縣名家, 蘭庭茂族. 遂襲家風之慶, 蔚爲邑長之尊. 母白氏, 唯修聖善之心, 願得神通之子, 奉行婦道, 愼守母儀. 魂交, 覩一梵僧, 授金色奇菓. 因有娠, 誕彌厥月, 父亦申夢, 法幢竪于中庭, 梵旆掛其上, 隨風搖曳, 映日翩飜, 衆人集其下, 觀者如堵.

The Great Master's Dharma-title was T'anmun, his courtesy name was

2 Hucker 5783

Tae'o. His secular surname was Ko, and he was from Kobong in Kwangju. His ancestors had gathered endless virtues and they had an abundance of accomplishments. His ancestors had achieved a great pool of long success [in producing capable ministers], and displayed the virtue of three kinds of unusual feats. His father organized [i.e., embellished] his county, [thus contributing to his] family's fame, a clan of many [talented scholars planting] orchids in the courtyard. Thereupon he inherited the blessings of his clan's style, and was frequently venerated as a village leader. His mother was from the Paek clan. She solely cultivated the mind of [becoming a] mother [lit. "sage and good"] and wished to obtain a child of supernormal powers. She respectfully practiced the path of female virtues and with circumspection preserved the etiquette of motherhood. While she was asleep she saw an Indian monk who gave her a golden-colored strange fruit, and consequently she became pregnant. In the month in which the birth was expected, his father also had a dream, in which a Dharma banner pole was erected in the middle of the courtyard, on which a banner with characters in Indian script was hung, fluttering with the wind and waving in the shining sun. A crowd of people was gathered beneath, the spectators forming like a solid wall.

乾寧七年, 龍集涒灘, 秋八月, 十四日, 天欲曙, 誕生. 大師, 其胎遶頸而垂, 如着方袍. 生有奇骨, 弱無放言, 覩金像以虔心, 對桑門而合掌, 有以見其根殆熟. 善芽尚早, 年甫五歲, 情敦出俗, 志在離塵, 願託跡於緇門, 卽寄心於金界.

At dawn of the fourteenth day of the eighth month of autumn, in the seventh year of the Qianning era (900), the master was born. His newborn body was wrapped around with something so that it looked as if he was wearing a monastic robe that hung down from his neck. He was born with a strange physiognomy and abstained from unrestrained speaking from his childhood. If he saw golden images [of the Buddha], [he looked at them] with a pious mind. When meeting monks, he did so with palms together [as a sign of respect]. One could see that his [spiritual] faculty was almost [fully] matured. As the sprout of his good roots [*kuśala-mūla*] was precocious [i.e., matured in his previous existences], when he turned five years old, he was

sincerely inclined to depart from the secular world, and his intention was focused on leaving the dust [of this world]. He wished to entrust his life [lit., his traces] to the monastic community [lit. "black gate"] and so he focused his mind on the adamantine realm [i.e., the Buddhist monastery].

先白母, 母念疇昔之夢, 泣曰諗, "願度來世, 吾不復撓倚門之念也." 已後謁父, 父喜曰, "善." 卽以落髮辭親, 脩心學佛, 去謁鄉山大寺大德和尙. 和尙見大師, 鳳毛奇相, 螺髻殊姿, 因謂曰, "方當童稚之年, 旣飽老成之德. 如子者, 以吾爲師, 是猶守株待兎, 緣木求魚. 吾非汝師, 可往勝處."

First he spoke to his mother. His mother remembered her past dream and in tears told him [approvingly], "I wish to be saved in my next existence and I shall no more obstruct you by my thoughts of waiting for you at the door [i.e., my parental love for you shall not obstruct your goal]." After this he met his father. His father joyfully said, "Good!" He promptly shaved his head and took leave from his parents. He cultivated his mind and studied the Buddha's teaching. He went to Hyang[sŏng]-san and met the master Taedŏk at the large monastery there. When the master saw the Great Master, he had marvelous appearance of the hair of a phoenix with the special appearance of the spiral hair on the top of his head. Therefore he said, "Although you are the age of a child, you are already replete with the virtue of old age. If someone like you takes me as his teacher, this is just like trying to catch a hare by [merely] oberving a stump, or like climbing a tree to catch a fish. I can not be your teacher. You should go to a better place [with a better teacher]."

大師, 方欲 '僧之眞者必訪, 跡之古者必尋.' 會歸覲日, "古老相傳, 鄕城山內, 有佛寺之墟, 昔元曉菩薩, 義想大德俱曆居所憩." 大師, '旣聞斯聖跡, 盍詣彼玄基以習善.' 遂芨于其舊墟, 檻心猿, 柳意馬, 于以休足, 于以齋心, 經歷數年. 時號之聖沙彌.

The Great Master now wanted at all costs to visit a true [teacher] among monks and seek out the ancient vestiges [of monasteries]. He met [to take leave from the master], who said [to him], "Among old monks, it is said that

on Hyangsŏng-san there are the vestiges of a Buddhist monastery which in the past was a place where the bodhisattva Wŏnhyo and the great master Ŭisang had dwelled together and taken a rest." The Great Master [said,] "Since I have heard about these noble vestiges [i.e., that monastery], how can I not go to those profound foundations and practice wholesome actions [i.e., cultivate the path] there?" Then he built a grass hut among those old vestiges and [practised in order to] cage the mind that was like a [wild] monkey and controlled the consciousness which was like a [unbridled] horse. There, he rested his feet and purified his mind, spending several years [living] there. At that time, [people] called him "noble srāmaṇera."

大師, 迺聞, '信嚴大德, 住莊義山寺, 說雜華者.' 希作名公之弟子, 願爲眞佛之法孫, 特詣蓮扉. 財執巾盥, 乃嘗讀以雜華經, 一卷一日誦無孑遺. 嚴公器之, 大喜曰, "古師所謂, '賢一日, 敵三十夫', 後發前至, 將非是歟, 果驗." 拳拳服膺, 師逸功倍. 龍樹化人之說, 卽得心傳, 佛華論道之譚, 何勞目語. 雖然妙覺, 猶有律儀.

The Great Master then heard that the great virtuous monk Sinŏm was dwelling at Chang-ŭi Mountain Monastery and lecturing on the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*. As he hoped to become the disciple of that famous monk and wished to become a Dharma heir of the true Buddha, he specially went there [lit. to the "Lotus Door"]. He barely began to assist him by holding his towel and washbowl than he [began] studying the *Huayan Sūtra*, memorizing one fascicle a day and reciting it without a single omission. Master Sinŏm considered him to be [a worthy] Dharma-vessel [of deep capacity] and with great joy said, "The ancient masters used to say that a worthy [disciple] [memorizes] the equivalent of thirty men. Is this not [indeed like the saying that] the one who begins later arrives first? Indeed I just experienced this!" He devotedly served [his teacher] and the master easily multiplied his efforts [in practice]. The story of Nāgārjuna's teaching people can [indeed] be understood by the mind [i.e., be truly felt here]. How could it be hard [in this context] to witness with one's eyes the story of Buddha discussing the path [with his disciples]? Although [he achieved] sublime awakening, he still [relied on] monastic codes and decorum.

年十五, 遂受具於莊義山寺. 初律師夢一神僧, 謂之曰, "其有新受戒沙彌名文者, 唯此沙彌, 非常之人, 於其法, 花嚴大器, 何必勞身受戒." 覺推之, 迺大師名是也. 律師奇之, 乃說前夢, 因謂曰, "神人警戒, 其然何須稟具."

At the age of fifteen, he then received the full ordination precepts at Chang-ŭi Mountain Monastery. His first vinaya master dreamt that one divine monk said to him, "Among those to newly receive the precepts, there is a novice [lit. srāmaṇera] named Mun. Only this novice is an extraordinary person. Concerning the Dharma, he is a great vessel for the Huayan [teachings]. What need is there for him to undergo physical hardship to obtain the [full ordination] precepts?" Upon waking up, [the vinaya master] investigated it and indeed found the Great Master's name [on the list of postulants]. The vinaya master viewed this as a strange event, and referring to his previous dream, said, "As the divine being warned me, indeed why should it be necessary that you receive the full ordination precepts?"

大師迺言曰, "我心匪石, 其退轉乎, 願言佛陁孫, 合受菩薩戒," 戒香遂受, 行葉彌芳.

The Great Master then said, "My mind is not like a stone, how can I roll it back? I wish to say that [in order to become] an heir of the Buddha, it is appropriate to receive the bodhisattva precepts." Having received the fragrance of the precepts, the leaves of his practice emitted a fragrance everywhere.

由是, 聲九皐應千里. 故乃太祖, 聞大師, 緇林拔萃, 覺樹慧柯, 制曰, "旣幼年之表異, 號聖沙彌, 宜今日之標奇, 稱別和尙." 是謂逃名, 名我隨, 避聲, 聲我追者也.

Because of this, his fame reverberated in the [deepest] swamps for a thousand *li*. Therefore [King] T'aejo, having heard that the Great Master was outstanding among the forest [i.e., multitude] of monks and the wisdom-branch of the tree of awakening, issued a royal order saying, "As he already

had been called 'noble srāmaṇera' in his childhood as a token of his prodigy, it is only befitting that today he be called 'Distinguished Master' as a token of his prodigy." This means fleeing fame, [but] as fame follows one's self, if you evade reputation, your reputation follows after you.

龍德元年, 置海會, 選緇徒. 制曰, "莊義別和尙, 何必更爲居士," 方作名僧, 遂擢爲問者, 譬如撞鐘, 大鳴春容. 於是乎, 在同光紀曆丙戌司年冬十月, 太祖, 以劉王后, 因有娠得殊夢, 爲其賴棗心之丹, 願誕玉裕之英姿, 遂請大師, 祈法力. 於是, 香爇金爐, 經開玉軸, 願維熊之吉夢, 叶如羍之誕生, 果驗日角奇姿, 天顔異相.

In the first year of the Longde [era, 921], an "ocean assembly" [i.e., a gathering of monks] was established for the selection of monks [to administrative posts]. A decree [issued by the king] said, "As there [already] is the Distinguished Master of Changŭi-sa, why would it be necessary to select yet another layman?" Then he was labelled a monk and passed through the questioning of the examiners [replying smoothly] like [the sound of] a struck bell emitting a loud sound on being hit hard. Thereupon in the tenth month of winter in the twenty-third year of the sexagenary cycle in the Tongguang era [926], the Queen Consort Ryu, [a concubine of] T'aejo, had an unusual dream of becoming pregnant. Due to the sincerity of her mind [lit., the red crimson of the date tree], she wished to give birth to [a child having] a jade-like brave countenance. She then requested the Great Master to pray for the power of the Dharma [to assist her wish]. Thereupon [the master] lit incense in a golden censer and recited the sūtras [lit., opened up the sūtra boxes and recited them by turning the jade axis of the scrolls], praying that the auspicious dream of giving birth to a bear [i.e., a male heir] would lead to a birth as smooth as that of a lamb. As a result, the desired effect [was accomplished] and the child had the marvelous appearance of a protruding crown like the sun and the unusual shape of a heavenly face.

有以見端居鶴禁, 嗣守鴻圖, 是大成王也. 實, 大師, 得佛心深, 奉天力厚, 妙感, 祈褫於垂裕, 玄功, 薦祉於繼明矣. 太祖, 甚恕之, 飛手詔優勞.

He was supposed to live quietly in the confines of the palace of the crown prince, and to inherit and maintain the grand prospect [of the royal lineage]. He was [to become] the King Taesŏng [i.e., King Kwangjong]. As a matter of fact, the Great Master had deeply obtained the Buddha's mind and magnanimously respected the power of heaven. The sublime inspiration of his prayer [was sufficient] to bestow affluence on future generations. His profound merits [were sufficient] to offer blessings to the bright successor [to the throne]. T'aejo praised him very much for that and swiftly sent him a hand-written missive appreciating his hard work.

爾後, 迻住於九龍山寺, 講花嚴, 有群鳥, 遶房前, 於兎, 伏階下者. 門人等圓視戰慄, 大師怡顔自若曰, "若無譁, 唯此珍飛奇走歸法, 依僧而已." 明年春, 以大師行修草繫之心德冠結花嚴之首, 擢授別大德. 於是, 循循然善誘, 自是請益者, 其麗不億, 寔繁有徒. 太祖, 方欲糺合龍邦, 欽崇象教.

Subsequently [the master] moved his residence to Kuryong Mountain Monastery where he lectured on the *Huayan [Sūtra]*. At that time [i.e., while he lectured], flocks of birds surrounded the space in front of his room and tigers lay down below the stairs [leading to his room]. His disciples all trembled with fear at this sight. But the Great Master, with a joyful face and self-possessed said, "Be quiet! These rare birds and beasts merely rely on me for taking refuge in the Dharma." In the spring of the following year [927], the Great Master had cultivated the mind of being tied in the grass,[3] and his virtue crowned him as the head of Gaṇḍavyūha [practitioners], and he was promoted to [the title of] "extraordinary great virtuous monk." Consequently, he systematically and skillfully guided [sentient beings]. From then on, the

3 "Grass-bound" 草繫 refers to "Grass-bound bhikṣu" 草繫比丘, literally "a monk bound up in the grass" (S. *kuśa-vandhana*), mentioned in the *Da zhuangyan lunjing* 大莊嚴論經 (T. 201.4.268c10) and the *Sūtra of Brahma's Net* (*Fangwang jing* T. 1484.24.7b23): a monk was mugged by a thief, who restrained him by tying him up in the tall live grass. The monk, not wanting to break the precept against taking life remained lying tied up in the grass, rather than ripping it out. A king who passed by and found the monk was so moved by this scene that he converted to Buddhism.

number of those requesting him for additional instruction was unfathomable, and he had truly numerous disciples. T'aejo, who was just planning to unify the dragon countries [i.e., the three kingdoms] admired the teaching of Buddhism [lit. teaching of the elephant].

清泰初, 聞西伯山神朗太大德, 纂覺賢之餘烈, 演方廣之秘宗, 今年迫桑榆, 貌衰蒲柳. 遂請大師, 追郎公, 其麈玉柄, 演金言, 聞心法者. 大師, 遂往西伯, 聽雜華三本則, 何異, 善逝, 密傳於迦葉, 淨名, 默對於文殊者哉. 朗公應對, 有慙色曰, "昔儒童菩薩, 所謂, 起予者商." 故乃花嚴大敎, 於斯爲盛矣.

In the beginning of the Qingtai [era; 934], he heard that the "supreme virtuous monk" Sillang on Sŏbaek-san had [studied] Buddhabhadra's version [i.e., translations] of the text [i.e., the *Huayan Sūtra* in eighty fascicles], and expounded the secret teaching of the mahāvaipulya [sūtras; ie. the Mahāyāna sūtras]. In that year, [Sillang]'s age was approaching the sunset [of life; lit. "mulberry and elm"] and his [bodily] appearance was decrepit like a willow tree. Then he [went] to request the Great Master [for instruction] and [Great Master] Sillang [ascended the Dharma seat] and wielding his jade stick expounded the golden words [i.e., the Buddha's teachings] and exposed the mind-dharma [i.e., the teaching about the mind]. The Great Master then went to Sŏbaek-san and listened [to the lectures] on the three versions of the *Huayan Sūtra* and [exclaimed,] "How can this be different from what the Sugata [i.e., the Buddha] has secretly transmitted to Kāśyapa, or from what Vimalakīrti silently replied with to Mañjuśrī?" The Great Master Sillang replied with a [sense of] shame on his face, saying: "In the past, the Scholar-youth Bodhisattva [i.e. Confucius][4] said that 'It is [Pu] Shang who can bring out my meaning' ."[5] Therefore the great Huayan teaching flourished henceforth.

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4 *Rutong pusa* 儒童菩薩, "Learned-youth Bodhisattva" refers to Confucius as having been sent from India by the Buddha to instruct China.

5 Pu Shang 卜商, styled Zi xia 子夏, is mentioned in the *Lunyu* as one of Confucius' close disciples. He was forty-five years younger than Confucius and is represented as an extensively read and exact

天福七年, 秋七月, 塩白二州, 地界螟蝗害稼. 大師爲法主, 講大般若經. 一音纔演法, 百螣不爲灾. 是歲卽致年豐, 翻成物泰.

In the seventh month of autumn in the seventh year of the Tianfu [era, 942], the region between the two prefectures of Yŏmju and Paekju was infested by a locust plague which destroyed the crops. The Great Master acted as "Lord of the Dharma" and lectured on the *Large Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, and with one single [and perfect] voice he expounded the Dharma, which [made] all the harmful insects withdraw and not cause damage. That year thus proved to be a year of good harvest and turned out to be peaceful [for everything].

惠宗嗣位, 寫花嚴經三本裁竟, 卽於天成殿, 像設法筵, 請大師講覽, 兼申慶讚, 爲其弘宣寶偈. 永締芳緣, 附大師, 送納於九龍山寺, 別贈法衣, 贄之珍茗, 副以仙香. 定宗踐阼, 遂於九龍山寺, 置譚筵, 大師爲法主, □□賴之, 大□爲□君臨之多福. 及大成大王, 卽位, 增脩十善, 益勵三歸. 仰展素衷, 倍增丹愿.

When Hyejong succeeded to the throne [934], he had the copying of the three versions of the *Huayan Sūtra* completed and then enshrined a Buddha image and opened a Dharma-banquet in the Hall of Heavenly Accomplishment (Ch'ŏnsŏng-jŏn). He requested the Great Master to lecture and read [that sūtra] and also concurrently to perform the [rite of] praise [for the completion of that project] by broadly propagating its precious gathas. [In order to] conclude an eternal and auspicious karmic connection with the Great Master, [the king] sent a patched robe to Kuryong Mountain

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scholar but one without great comprehension of mind. On the occasion of the death of his son he wept himself blind.

> 子夏問曰: "'巧笑倩兮, 美目盼兮, 素以爲絢兮.' 何謂也?" 子曰: "繪事後素." 曰: "禮後乎?" 子曰: "起予者商也!始可與言詩已矣."
>
> Zi Xia asked, saying, "What is the meaning of the passage, 'The pretty dimples of her artful smile! The well-defined black and white of her eye! The plain ground for the colors?'" The Master said, "The business of laying on the colors follows (the preparation of) the plain ground." "Ceremonies then are a subsequent thing?" The Master said, "It is Shang who can bring out my meaning. Now I can begin to talk about the odes with him."

Monastery and separately bestowed on him a Dharma-robe and a gift of precious tea leaves, as well as also [giving him] incense of the immortals. When Chŏngjong ascended the throne, he organized a debate at Kuryong Mountain Monastery and had the Great Master [to superintend it] as Lord of the Dharma. Relying upon [his Dharma-power] he greatly performed this to have many blessings bestowed upon his reign. And when the Great King Taesŏng ascended the throne, he increased the practice of the ten wholesome actions and encouraged [people to take] the three refuges. He admired [the Great Master] and displayed a simple heart, increasing [the intensity of] his sincere vow.

每覩吾師之尊貌, 如瞻彼佛之睟容. 請大師祈法力, 大師, 僧泉之麾麈尾, 惠弼之動龍頣. 宣莅阼之玄功, 講化邦之妙法, 故乃時康道泰, 國阜家殷矣.

He [the king] always looked at our master's venerable appearance as if he was looking at the Buddha's clear-eyed face. He requested the Great Master [to use his] Dharma-power in praying. The Great Master [acted like in the episode of] Sŭngch'ŏn's wielding his duster, or like [the monk] Hyep'il's moving his dragon chin. He proclaimed the arcane merit of [the king's] assuming the throne and lectured on the sublime Dharma for the [king's] transformation of the country. Therefore the era was prosperous and the Way was at peace. The state was wealthy and the households were flourishing.

□□□伏爲大王, 奉金姿. 宣玉偈, 欽若法王之道, 煥乎君子之邦, 造釋迦三尊金像. 光宗御宇四年春, 大師, 得佛舍利三粒, 以瑠璃罌盛, 安置法宇. 數日後夜夢, 有七僧, 自東方來云, "今爲妙願俱圓, 靈姿遍化, 故來." 覺見其罌, 舍利旋旋爲三 □□□□於置地□金之刹, 起補天練石之龕, 所以, 延帝齡, 扶聖化也.

The Great Master submitted to the Great King['s wish] and revered the One with the Golden Countenance [i.e., the Buddha]. He proclaimed the jade gāthā [i.e., the Buddha's verses] and admired the path of the Dharma-king [i.e., *dharmarāja*]. To illuminate the "Country of Gentlemen" [i.e., Koryŏ], he manufactured golden images of Śākyamuni as three Honored

Ones [i.e., Śākyamuni with two other Buddhas on his left and right, probably Samantabhadra and Mañjuśrī]. In the spring in the fourth year of [King] Kwangjong's reign, the Great Master obtained three relics [lit. śarīra] of the Buddha, which he put in a vessel of glass [i.e., lapis lazuli] and enshrined in the Dharma-Hall. Several days later he dreamt at night that there were seven monks who had come from the East and said, "We came now because of your sublime vow that you have perfected and your spiritual form [which] transforms [people] everywhere [in the country]." When he awoke, he looked at the vessel and the relics began to spin around into three…[five characters missing] placed on the ground… [one character missing]. On the golden field he built a stūpa of washed stone that mended heaven. The reason [for that] was to extend the life span of the king and to support his royal transforming power [in the realm].

顯德二年夏, 大師法軆乖和, 嚬容示疾. 夜夢有居士三十餘人, 艤舟而來, "欲載大師西泛." 大師, 方謂, "是吾乘仁舟, 而西逝矣." 乃言曰, "吾自出世, 志於道, 願欲敬敷天教, 誧濟海□□□□□□去世, 奈何急." 其居士等, 聽之迴舟, 有後期而去矣. 爾後得年算之遐長, 致貫花之益誠, 是謂, '神通夢穸, 靈驗幽明矣.'

In the summer of the second year of the Xiande [era, 955], the Great Master's Dharma-body was at variance with harmony, his face frowned and he showed signs of illness. One night, he dreamt that more than thirty householders arrived by ship and [said] "We wish to transport you, Great Master, floating westward." The Great Master then said, "This is the benevolent ship I am supposed to ride to cross over to the West." Then he said, "Since I departed from the world [i.e., became a monk], my aim was on [accomplishing] the path. I wish to respectfully spread the Buddhist teaching [lit. "heavenly teaching"], to assist [sentient beings] in crossing over the sea [of suffering]… [but now that I have] to depart from the world [i.e., die]. What is the rush?" Upon hearing this, those laymen turned the boat around, [deciding] to leave [with the master] in a later period. Subsequently, [the master] obtained a prolonged life span, [during which] he devoted himself to increase his sincerity in making a garland of flowers [i.e., a reference to

Huayan]. This is what is meant by supernormal powers [while] dreaming and sleeping, and spiritual efficacy in this and the netherworld.

大師告門人曰, “聖君, 致我稱師, 報君以佛.” 奉爲祝玉皇之万壽, 鑄金像之三尊. 因得鳳曆, 惟新鴻圖. 有赫乾□□□□□, 大內, 置大藏經法會, 遽飛芝檢, 徵赴珠宮. 大師, 別山寺之蓮扉, 到京師之金地. 大王遣緇素重使, 迎入內道場, 禮之加焯然, 敬之如如來. 別獻磨衲袈裟, 幷白瑪瑙念珠. 是歲秋九月, 以新刱歸法寺, 水潺湲而連遶, 山巘崿而屛開. 像殿□□□□□時乃開士宴居之淨境, 寔眞人栖息之淸齋, 遂請大師住焉. 大師往居之, 儼若化城. 別送罽錦袈裟, 幷法衣.

The Great Master announced to his disciples, “The king refers to me as his teacher. I repay the king by [praying for] the Buddha[‘s protection].” In order to offer prayers for the longevity of the Jade Emperor [i.e., King Kwangjong] he cast the golden images of the Three Honored Ones. As a consequence, [this was recorded] in the annals [lit. phoenix calendar], and he only [wanted] to renew the grand prospect [for the future of the dynasty]. In the radiant heaven... [five characters missing]. In the royal palace, he [the king] opened a Dharma assembly for the Tripiṭaka and hastily sent a decree inviting the master to come to the royal palace [lit. “pearl palace”]. The Great Master left the “Lotus Door” of the mountain monastery and arrived at the golden ground [i.e., monastery][6] in the capital. The King sent monks and laypeople, as well as emissaries to welcome [the master] in the inner [palace] chapel, where [the king] received him in a magnificent way. He venerated him like the Tathāgata. Aditionally, he presented him with a patched *kāṣāya* [robe; ie. a robe of seven or more pieces] and a rosary with white agate beads. In the ninth month, in autumn, of that year, he newly founded Kwibŏp-

6 The term “golden ground” 金地 refers to a Buddhist monastery, being derived from the legend that the rich man Anāthapiṇḍada bought the Jetavana-vihāra and presented it to Śākyamuni. Anāthapiṇḍada, seeking a suitable place for the Buddha’s residence, discovered this park belonging to Jeta. When he asked to be allowed to buy it, Jeta’s reply was: “Not even if you could cover the whole place with gold.” Anāthapiṇḍada had gold brought down in carts and covered the Jetavana with pieces laid side by side.

sa. It was surrounded by slowly flowing water and mountain cliffs which screened it. The [Buddha] image in the Hall … [5 characters missing] at that time, this was a pure environment for monks [lit. awakened persons, ie., bodhisattvas] to sit quietly [in meditative cultivation] and truly a pure complex of buildings for genuine people to dwell. Then he requested the Great Master reside [there]. The Great Master went to dwell there and the monastery became [populated by many monks] just like a city created by magic. [The king] additionally sent him [as a present] a *kāṣāya* made of silk from Kashmir and [another] Dharma-robe.

儲后, 信向吾師, 誠如聖旨. 別獻法衣, 幷漢茗蠻香等. 是歲冬十月, 大王, 以大師, 釋門宗主, 險道導師, 演呾纜之秘宗, 化扶桑之□□. 於是, 尊崇道德, 深感大慈, 迺遣緇素, 重使奉疏, 請爲王師. 大師迺讓曰, "心珠靡瑩, 目鏡無縣, 謬爲王師, 卽僧豈敢." 大王乃言曰, "高山仰止, 何日忘之, 將開混沌之源, 寔切崆峒之請."

The Heir Apparent [likewise] had faith in our master and his sincerity was like that to the king [i.e., his father the king Kwangjong]. He [i.e., the Heir Apparent] separately offered him a Dharma-robe, and Chinese tea and incense of exotic [lit. barbarian] provenance. In the tenth month, in winter, of that year, the King [appointed] the Great Master as senior leader of the Buddhist schools [lit. Śākyamuni's family] and as a spiritual guide [of sentient beings] on the dangerous path [to liberation]. [The master] expounded the secret teaching of the sūtras and transformed the [people] of the country of the rising sun [i.e., Fusang; Korea]. Consequently, [the king] venerated the virtue of his path and felt deeply his great compassion. Then he sent monks and laypeople as his emissaries to present his message requesting the Great Master's [presence in the capital]. The Great Master then declined, saying, "As my mind jewel has lost its shine, and the mirror of my eyes does not [reflect anymore], I worry that it is wrong [for me] to become your Royal Preceptor. Indeed, how could I possibly dare [acquiesce to your request]?" The King then said, "I look up to you, a lofty mountain. When will I forget you? I shall inquire about the source of the original mind [lit. primordial chaos], as my sincere request about the path [lit. the request

on the Kongtong Mountains]."[7]

大師乃言, "僧唯有心於歸佛, 苟無力於致君, 尚以過沐□□□末由膠讓." 迺使太相金遵巖等, 奉徽號爲王師, 弘道三重大師, 翌日大王, 躬詣內道場, 拜爲師. 於是, "爲君經國之方, 法天注意, 依佛化人之道, 觀海沃心." 遂乃颺以藥言, 施之箴誡. 所以, 仰依法力, 倍罄精心, 別獻罽錦袈裟, 幷黃黑碼碯念珠.

The Great Master then said, "I, a [simple] monk, only have my mind [focused] on taking refuge in the Buddha. I truly have no strength to assist the ruler. Rather, as I have undeservedly received royal favors, I have no reason to [further] decline." Thereupon [the king] had the grand councilor Kim Chun-am and others present him with the title of honor of "Royal Preceptor, Propagator of the Path, and Triply Exalted Great Master." The following day, the Great King himself went to the palace chapel and performed prostrations to honor him as his teacher. Thereupon [he said,] "As you became the ruler, the method to manage the state is to pay attention to the rules of heaven, take refuge in the Buddha's path to transform the people, and observe the mind at the bottom of the ocean."[8] Then he exalted [the king] with sincere admonitions [lit. words of medicine], and gave him admonitions. For this reason [the king] respectfully relied upon the Dharma-power [of the Great Master], and increased his efforts [to get] a refined mind, and additionally offered him a Kashmir silk *kāṣāya* [robe] and a rosary with yellow and black crystal beads.

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7 The Kongtong Mountains (Kongtong Shan 崆峒山) are one of the sacred mountains of Daoism. They are the mythical meeting site between the Yellow Emperor and the immortal Guangchengzi 廣成子.

8 The term *haiwo xin* 海沃心 refers to 沃焦石 (S. *Pātāla*), the rock, or mountain, on the bottom of the ocean, just above the hot purgatory, which absorbs the water and thus keeps the sea from increasing and overflowing. 沃焦海 is the ocean which contains this rock, or mountain. *Huayanjing shu* 華嚴經疏 T 1735.35.879b3.

開寶五年, 大師特爲儲后, 年齊鶴算, 日盛龍樓, 扶玉扆以儲休, 佐瑤圖而演慶, 迺入千佛道場, 焚禱經七日夜夢, 有五百僧來曰, "師所願者, 佛之聽之, 故奏請畫師, 敬畫五百羅漢, 安置於安禪報國院." 大師乃言之, "昔吾在普願寺, 奉持三本華嚴經, 每以中夜, 經行像殿, 不絶數年.

In the fifth year of the Kaibao [era, 972], the Great Master, specifically for the longevity [lit., crane-age] of the Heir Apparent, daily [prayed] for the prosperity of the Dragon mansion [i.e., the palace of the Heir Apparent], assisted the jade screen [i.e., the royal court] by storing up good fortune, and aided the royal lineage by lecturing on auspiciousness. Thereupon he entered [went] into the enlightenment site [i.e., monastery] of a thousand buddhas, where he burnt [incense] and prayed. As time passed, in the night of the seventh day, he dreamt that five hundred monks came and said, "The Buddha has granted what you, master, were wishing for. Therefore [you should] request a painter to reverently paint [a picture of the] five hundred arhats and enshrine [it] at the Ansŏn Poguk Cloister." The Great Master then said about it, "In the past, when I was at Powŏn-sa, in the Hall with [Buddha-] image I respectfully upheld and walked in procession with the three versions of the *Huayan Sūtra* every night for several years without a break."

忽一夜三寶前, 有一僧問曰, '僧來奚自.' 乃曰, '聖住院, 住持五百僧, 隨緣赴感, 經過此地, 遣僧起居.' 乃 '往三寶', 洗脚訖, 向吾房而去, 吾先歸房, 請入不應而去, 驟雨忽滂沲.

Suddenly, one night, there was a monk in front of the monastery reception [building] so I asked him, 'Monk, where have you come from?' Then [he] said, 'I am the abbot of Sŏngju-wŏn. There are five hundred monks who, eliciting sympathetic responses according to the karmic affinities [of their audiences], happened to pass by this place and they dispatched me to request [permission] to dwell [here].' Then they went to the guest prefect and, having washed their feet, headed towards me [i.e., my abbot quarters], but then left. I returned to my room first and invited them to come in, but they did not comply and left. [Thereupon] a sudden rainstorm suddenly poured down."

詰旦, 向司存, 問,“夜有客僧來” 曰,“終夜無僧來.” 滿庭有虎跡,“迺驗爲吾持十万雜華, 歸依玉像故, 五百羅漢, 光降蓮宮故, 爲感靈姿.” 疇, 聖德, 每春秋之佳節, 設羅漢之妙齋, 所以然而然也, 弟子識之.

The next morning, I asked the monk in charge of the monastery reception 'Were there any visiting monks [last] night?' [He] said, 'Not a single monk came during the whole night.' [But] there were tiger tracks all over the courtyard. This then was verification of my keeping the *Huayan Sūtra* in a hundred thousand verses [i.e., the *Huayan Sūtra* in eighty fascicles]. Because I took refuge in the Jade Image [i.e., the Buddha]. The five hundred arhats graciously descended into the Lotus Palace [i.e., the monastery], and therefore made me open to receive the numinous [dream of] their appearance." Then, [to repay] their saintly virtue, at every auspicious festival in the spring and autumn, a subtle vegetarian feast [in honor] of the arhats was established. His disciples recognized the reason for it being like this.

開寶八年, 春正月, 大師, 以適當衰皃, 請歸故山. 大王, 尚慊別慈顔, 請住歸法寺, 遂言曰,“末尼上珍, 匿耀在深山, 其可耶, 請, 見在人間, 炤透三千界, 弟子之願也.” 大師乃言曰,“僧, 不爲栖身碧洞以過, 年年寓目青山而閑, 日日, 但緣有始有卒, 念玆在玆.”

In the first month, in spring, of the eighth year of the Kaibao [era, 975], the Great Master reached that [time of having] a decrepit appearance, [and thus] requested [permission] to return to his former mountain [monastery]. The Great King disliked [the idea of] being deprived of [the master's] compassionate face and requested him to dwell at Kwipŏp-sa, so he said, "How could it be proper for a gem [lit. maṇi] of the utmost splendor [i.e., you] to hide its brilliance on a deep mountain? I request that you display your presence in the realm of human beings and shine through the trichiliocosm.[9] This is my wish as your disciple." The Great Master then said, "I, a [worthless] monk, as I did not dwell in the emerald [mountain] cave,

9 Cf. Muyŏm's inscription. Same wording.

[but] spent year after year staring at the green mountains in an idle fashion [from my residence in the capital], day after day [I realize that regarding my] karmic connections, if there is a beginning, there must be an end, and thinking about this [I wish] to be there."

大王雖戀玉毫, 難留蓮步, 乃以爲大師. 身與雲栖洞心, 齊月在空. 慧化一方, 德馨四遠, 正宜君臣鑽仰, 邦國師資□也. 咸懷寶月之光, 盡入慈雲之蔭, 則是今生際會, 多劫因緣, 致敬謙謙, 言懷懇懇. 奉徽號, 請爲國師, 大師, 辭以老且病.

Although the Great King was fond of [the master's] white curl between the eyebrows [i.e., the master's face], it was difficult to keep him [lit. lotus-steps] back. Then, for the sake of the Great Master, he [decided] to dwell himself with the clouds and his mind in the cave [with the master], [as if] together with the moon in the empty sky. [The master's] wisdom transformed the whole realm; his virtue perfumed even the remote regions of the four directions. Thus it was just appropriate that the king and his subjects looked up to him with reverence as the teacher of the [whole] country. All [beings] harbor [in their thoughts] the light of the treasure moon, and [they all] enter into the shadow of the clouds of compassion. Then they meet in this present existence [and form] karmic affinities [lasting for] many kalpas [aeons]. They pay respect with the utmost modesty; they speak their thoughts with the utmost sincerity. They presented him with the title of honor, requesting him [to become] National Preceptor. [But] the Great Master declined on the grounds of old age and illness.

大王, 傾心請矣, 稽首言之. 大師言曰, "僧學道功微, 爲師德薄, 猶且荷聖之恩不淺, 當仁之讓無由." 大王, 躬詣道場, 服冕拜爲國師□之以避席之儀, 展之以書紳之禮, 于以問道, 于以乞言. 大師言曰, "僧, 但緣當蒲柳之先, 衰憩煙蘿之淨境. 身歸松徑, 心在藥宮, 仰戀龍顔, 唯祈鳳祚而已."

The Great King poured out his heart in his request. He inclined his head [in reverence] and spoke [again of his wish to the master]. The Great Master said, "My merit of studying the path is negligible, my virtue as a

teacher is threadbare. Yet as I have been sustained by [your] royal favor to a considerable degree, I have no reason to decline your benevolent [request]." The Great King himself went to the palace chapel [having donned] his crown and official costume, and prostrated to the [great] master as a gesture of taking him as his teacher and performed the ceremony of avoiding the seat, and exhibited the rite of writing his determination on his sash. Then he proceeded to ask him about the path and begged for words [of advice]. The Great Master said, "I merely [know that] my karmic affinity [with the world] has reached the point of being [decrepit] like a willow tree. Being decrepit [I wish to] rest in the pure realm of mist and vines. My body has reverted to [the emaciated state of] a pine tree's diameter, my mind is [like] the innermost recesses of the royal palace. I look up to and yearn for your [royal] countenance, and merely pray for your happiness [lit. phoenix throne].

大王謝曰, "法雲聯蔭, 甘露繼垂, 弟子, 蒙法化以非遙." 展精誠而益切. 方當別路, 爲備行裝, 贈以紫羅法衣, 僧伽帽, 紫結絲鞋, 雲茗天香, 霜縑霧縠等, 芀命僧維, 釋惠允, 元輔蔡玄等, 衛送, 大王, 率百官, 幸東郊祖席, 與儲后, 親獻茶菓, 仍寵許.

The Great King, expressing his gratitude, said, "The Dharma cloud continuously [cast] shade, the sweet dew continuously dropped down. I, your disciple, have received [your] teaching [lit. the transformation by the Dharma] and shall not be remote [from you]." He displayed the utmost sincerity all the more ardently. Then when he was about to part company with him, he prepared his [the master's] luggage and bestowed him a Dharma robe made of purple silk gauze, a saṅgha hat, shoes tied with purple silk thread, cloud-tea and heavenly incense, frost-like fine silk and gossamer ("mist-like gauze"). Then he ordered the registrar of monastic personnel, Sŏk Hyeyun, and the Principal Support[10] Ch'ae Hyŏn, and others, to escort him off. The Great King, leading all officials[11], traveled to the eastern suburbs [of

[10] Hucker 8225

[11] Hucker 4739

the capital] to the ancestral [banquet] seat, where, together with the Heir Apparent, he personally offered tea and fruits, again as a gesture of favor.

大師門下僧, 有名行者, 可大師, 大德, 二十人. 納南畝一千頃, 佛奴五十人, 國師謝曰,"優加聖澤, 壯觀僧田, 千生之福, 不唐捐, 万劫之功, 何勝計矣."上頂拜曰,"弟子, 倚慈威而修已, 歸妙法以化人, 必望法體, 復初它心如舊, 再歸京邑, 永示慈悲."

Among the monks who were disciples of the Great Master, there were famous practitioners, twenty of them were worthy of being great masters or great virtuosi. [The king] donated one thousand *kyŏng* [hectares] of land south [of the capital] and fifty "Buddha-slaves." The National Preceptor thanked him, saying, "You abundantly conferred your royal favor, and magnificently had concern for me, a monastic field [of merit], which will [guarantee you] happiness for thousands of existences, without [having been made] in vain. How could one calculate the excellence of the merit of ten thousand kalpas?" The king bowed with his head to the ground and said, "I, your disciple, merely practice by relying on your compassionate power. I take refuge in the sublime Dharma to transform the people. I must hope for [your] dharma body [i.e., your presence] to be restored to]that initial mind as before and that you again return to the capital city and forever manifest [your] humaneness and compassion."

大師言,"宿締因緣, 今生國土, 荷皇王之恩重, 勝滄海之波深. 今歸故山, 得延餘喘, 卽望再赴雲闕, 更對天顏. 儻若逝水難停, 殘生莫駐, 卽願必當來世, 更作沙門, 益驗法緣, 仰疇, 王化. 日云暮矣."拜稽首泣別. 望象軒而目送, 想虎錫以心傾. 于以停鑾, 于以駐蹕, 繼降起居之星使, 頻傳愴戀之綸言, 自是, 黑白奔波, 神祇擁路.

The Great Master said, "Because of karmic affinities formed in past existences, I now have been born in [this] country. I have received the august king's profound favor surpassing the deep waves of the blue sea. Now as I return to my former mountain [monastery], if I can prolong the last days of

my existence, I shall, in the immediate future, come again to the palace of clouds [i.e., royal palace] and face again your heavenly countenance. If [this should turn out to be like] the flowing water being difficult to stop, and my remaining existence cannot be halted, then I vow that I certainly shall, in my next existence, again become a monk [lit. śramaṇa] and even more [vividly] experience a connection with the Dharma, and look up with reverence to your longevity and royal [civilizing] influence. [As for now,] the sun has reached the point of sunset." [The master] bowed by prostrating his head to the ground and bid farewell in tears. [The king] looked at the [master's] carriage and followed the departing carriage with his eyes. He thought of [the master's] tiger-staff with his mind inclined towards him. And he stopped his royal carriage, and made stopovers [to visit the master], and continuously dispatched envoys to his dwelling place, often transmitting letters expressing his sorrowful longing for him. Since then, monks and laypeople rushed like waves [to the master] and the gods of heaven and earth protected the road [to the master].

仰致傾心之敬, 何殊布髮之迎. 行至迦耶山寺, 其僧徒等, 如迎佛, 具仙樂. 於是, 幡盖雲飛, 鉢螺雷吼. 教禪一千餘人, 迎奉入寺. 大師, 芳命門弟子等曰, "吾當逝矣, 爲石室安厝之, 汝曹相其地, 便捨衣鉢隨身, 法具施與門徒等." 大王, 命尚醫供奉侍郎直文, "別賚仙藥, 晨夕侍護."

As they looked up to him with respect and devotion, how is that different from welcoming him by spreading one's clothes and hair on the ground [to cover the mud]? As he went to the monastery on Kaya-san [i.e., Powŏn-sa], the monks there welcomed him like a Buddha and provided him with the elixir of the immortals. Thereupon, the monastery flags fluttered like flying clouds, trumpets and conches roared like thunder. Over one thousand monks from Kyo and Sŏn schools welcomed him as he entered in the monastery. The Great Master then ordered his disciples, saying, "I soon shall pass away. Make a stone vault and enshrine [my remains] there. You people should scrutinize the ground [for an appropriate spot] and then place therein my body together with my robe and my alms bowl. Distribute my [other] Dharma-possessions among my disciples." The Great King [upon hearing

this] ordered the Vice Director of the Royal Directorate of Medicine,[12] Chik Mun, to additionally go and present the elixir of the immortals [to the master] and tend to [the master] from morning to night.

大師曰,“老僧之病, 更無聖救藥, 請侍郎, 旋歸象闕, 好侍龍墀.” 何爲老僧, 久滯山寺, 可爲維摩之疾, 不假桐君之藥.

The Great Master said, “As there is no royal medicine to cure my illness, I request that you, Vice Director [of the Royal Directorate of Medicine] return to the royal palace and take good care of the king [lit. royal court]. Why should you be detained a long time in this mountain monastery for my sake?” This would amount to say that the illness of Vimalakīrti does not necessitate the medicine of Tongjun.[13]

大師, 心爲身主, 身作心師. 食不異粮, 衣必均服, 其六十餘年, 行事也如是. 太師大王, 必當禮足於吾師, 何異歸心於彼佛. 故乃禮之厚, 寵之優. 贈之以罽錦法衣, 問之以絲綸仙札. 贄無虛月, 笔不絕書, 彼漢帝之敬摩騰, 吳主之尊僧會, 不可同年而語哉.

The Great Master [always] took the mind as the sovereign of the body, and the body as the teacher of the mind. His diet did not consist of various [sorts of] food, his clothing was always the same. His conduct extending for over sixty years was just like that. The Great King [Kwangjong] also appropriately paid his respect at our master's feet, how could this be any different than taking refuge with one's mind in that Buddha [Śākyamuni]? Therefore he paid his respect [to him] in a profound manner, and abundantly bestowed him with favors. He presented him with a Dharma robe made of silk from Kashmir and inquired [about his health] via a handwritten letter [of his own]. Not a singe month went by without him sending him a present

12 Cf. Hucker 5002.

13 Tongjun was a legendary physician in the period of the Yellow Emperor.

[of some sort] and his brush did not stop writing him letters. It was like Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty who venerated [the monk Kāśyapa] Mātaṇga or like the ruler of the Wu dynasty [Sun Quan]who venerated [the monk] Saṅghavarman. The only difference was that these examples are from different periods!

開寶八年, 龍集乙亥, 春三月, 十九日, 大師將化往, 盥浴訖, 房前命衆, 迺遺訓曰,"人有老少, 法無先後, 雙樹告滅, 万法歸空, 吾將遠遊, 爾曹好住, 如來正戒, 護之勗之哉." 言畢入房, 儼然趺坐, 示滅于當寺法堂, 俗年七十六, 僧臘六十一. 是晨也, 山頹聖地, 月墜香庭. 人靈, 於是哀哀, 松栢, 因而慘慘. 門下僧等, 起其萎之歎, 含安仰之悲, 擗踴慟哭, 聲振巖谷. 奉遷神座于迦耶山西崗, 權施石戶封閉. 色慘金地, 聲聞玉京.

On the nineteenth day[14] of the third month in spring, ŭrhae year, the eighth year of the Kaibao era [975], the Great Master, as he was about to pass away [into extinction], upon having taken a bath, ordered the assembly to gather in front of his quarters, and then bequeathed his last instruction, saying, "Human beings are characterized by youth and old age, but there is no before or after in the Dharma. When the Buddha announced his extinction [into nirvāṇa] between the twin [śāla-]trees, the myriad dharmas reverted to emptiness. I am about to go on a distant journey, [may] you all stay well. May you strive diligently to preserve the correct precepts of the Tathāgata!" Having ended his talk, he retired to his quarters, where, in a solemn fashion, he sat in a cross-legged posture and entered into nirvāṇa. This took place in the Dharma Hall of that monastery. His secular age was seventy-six years and he had been a monk for sixty-one years. On the morning of that day, [the color] of the mountains surrounding that noble site [i.e., the monastery] faded away and the moon fell into the fragrant courtyard [i.e., the monastery's courtyard]. Human beings and spirits then became sorrowful, pine and cypresses consequently became mournful. His

14 Ven. Jikwan translated it as twenty-ninth day.

monastic disciples became weakened by their laments. They were filled with grief, wondering whom they should now look up to [for guidance]. They were beating their breasts and stamping their feet, weeping bitterly. The sound [of their lamenting] caused cliffs and valleys to shake.

The [master's] "spirit throne" [i.e., coffin] was respectfully translated to the western ridge of Kaya-san. The [temporary] emplacement being selected, the stone stūpa [containing his enshrined remains] was temporarily sealed off. The color [of the master's face] caused the monastery [lit., "gold-covered ground"] to look desolate, and the sound [of the mourners] was heard in the jade capital [i.e., the royal palace].

光宗大王, 聞之震悼, 嗟覺花之先落, 慨慧月之早沉. 吊以書, 賻以穀, 所以, 資淨供, 贍玄福, 敬造眞影壹𨰝, 仍令國工, 封層冢, 門人等, 號奉色身. 竪塔于迦耶山西崗, 遵像法矣. 厥有傳法大弟子三重大師靈撰, 一光, 大師明會, 芮林, 倫慶, 彦玄, 弘廉, 大德玄悟, 靈遠, 玄光, 眞幸等, 並釋門龜鏡, 法苑鯨鍾, 繼智炬之餘輝, 踵慈軒之往轍. 感師恩而篆骨, 歸聖化以懸心.

Upon hearing this [i.e., the master's death], the Great King Kwangjong was shocked and grieved. He sighed at the premature fall of the flower of awakening and deplored the early setting of the moon of wisdom. He expressed his mourning by a message of condolence and presented grain as donation for funeral expenses, so as to subsidize pure offerings to provide for [the deceased's] happiness in the other world. He respectfully had manufactured one [mortuary] portrait [of the master], and had state-commissioned artisans carve a multistorey-stūpa. His disciples wept aloud as they reverently carried [the remains of] his physical body to be enshrined in the stūpa erected on the western ridge of Kaya-san. This [rite] was carried out in compliance with the semblance Dharma [age]. Among his great disciples who inherited his Dharma-lineage figured the Triply Exalted Great Masters Yŏngch'an and Ilgwang, the Great Masters Myŏnghoe, Pyŏngnim, Yungyŏng, Ŏnhyŏn, and Hongnyŏm, the great virtuous monks Hyŏn'o, Yŏngwŏn, Hyŏngwang, and Chinhaeng. These were equally exemplary models of the Buddhism and authorities [lit. "large whale-like temple bells"] within the

Buddhist establishment [lit., “garden of the Dharma”]. They inherited the afterglow of the [master’s] torch of the Dharma. They followed the footsteps [of their master] in the house of compassion. They felt gratitude to their master’s kindness [deeply] imprinted in their bones. They took refuge to his noble transformation [i.e., teaching] and [continuously] kept it in their minds.

伏遇今上, 當壁承祧. 夢齡襲美, 扇仁風而濟俗, 撝佛日以尊僧. 制曰, “先朝國師故迦耶山弘道大師, 考鷲嶺之玄言, 究龍宮之奧旨, 聿興聖教, 光化仁方故, 乃聖考, 奉以爲師, 敬之如佛. 玄化誕敷於普率, 慈風光被於寰瀛. 余尙慊天不憖遺, 衆其絶學.” 繼之先志, 奉以遹追, 欲旌崇德之因, 遠擧易名之典. 故追謚曰, 法印, 塔名寶乘.

[Then] the Current King [Kyŏngjong] performed the rite of inheriting the throne. He inherited the virtue [of becoming king] at a young age. He promoted the benevolent tradition to save the laity and helped [to upheld] the customs, and promoted the Buddha-sun by venerating monks. He issued an edict which said, “The State Preceptor of antecedent kings, the late Great Master and promoter of the path from Kaya-san [i.e., Pŏbin] studied the arcane words [uttered by the Buddha on] Vulture Peak [i.e., Buddhism] and thoroughly investigated the profound meaning of the [Mahāyāna scriptures hidden in the] dragon palace. He then caused the noble teaching [of Buddhism] to prosper. As his brilliance transformed the whole realm [under the king’s] benevolent [rule], the late king [i.e., Kwangjong] revered him as [National] Preceptor and admired him like the Buddha. His arcane transformation extended everywhere under the canopy of heaven. The brightness of his compassionate style covered the whole universe [lit. territory and oceans]. I still resent heaven for not having respectfully retained [the master in the world].” The assembly [of monks] [henceforth] has been cut off from [the source of] learning. To maintain the will of the departed master and to respectfully comply with it and follow it, wishing to signal the cause of his lofty virtue, they went to great length to perform the rite of changing his name [into a posthumous title conferred by the king]. Thus he was conferred the posthumous title of Pŏbin (“Dharma Seal”), and his stūpa

was named Posŭng (lit., "Precious Vehicle").[15]

爲其示以彌芳, 傳之不朽, 乃許勒本末石, 耀雲松門, 乃門弟子等, 相慶曰, "感玄造於先朝, 哀榮罔極, 沐鴻恩於今日, 寵遇方深, 奉大王恩, 狀大師行進, 上乃詔廷彦曰, "乃嘗爲國史, 躬覽載籍." 絲綸遂掌. "葵藿傾心, 顧先王加學士以待之, 若宜銘國師以報之, 提鴻筆以立言, 勒龜珉而紀德."

In order to manifest his ubiquitous virtue [lit. fragrance] and to propagate it so that it does not decay, he then granted his permission to engrave the events [of the master's life] on a stone, as a shining cloud [over] his pine gate. Therefore his disciples congratulated each other and said, "We are grateful to the arcane creation of previous kings. Their posthumous glory is infinite. We are bathing in their vast favor to this day. The favorite treatment is indeed profound. We uphold the Great King's favor and shall [compile] the Great Master's account of conduct." The king then issued an edict to Chŏng-ŏn [me], which said, "You once were State Historiographer[16] and personally perused many books. So the royal decree finally was given to you. As the sunflower [bent towards the sun], [you too] should incline your mind [towards the king]. As the posthumous royal edict of the former king, an additional scholar was put in charge to assist [you in this task]. It is thus appropriate that you thus repay his kindness by compiling the inscription of the State Preceptor, using your great literary skills to compose [his meritorious achievements] so that they can be inscribed on a turtle stone as a record of his virtuous deeds."

臣, 謝曰, "殿下謂臣, '彩毫比事, 齏臼屬辭, 俾報德以文.' 探玄紀茂, 而臣, 詞慙幼婦, 學謝客兒. 以淺近之麽才, 記玄微之芳躅, 其猶車之弱也, 載重, 綆之短者, 汲深. 空有效顰, 實無賈勇. 啓心雖切, 傷手是慙."

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15 Precious vehicle refers to the Mahāyāna.

16 Hucker 3529

As I declined, His Highness said to me, "Your brilliant writing that aligns [i.e., record] [historical] facts and which crafts texts and composes sentences should repay [my] kindness by means of the written word" [I said,] "I [wish to] inquire about the arcane and record it in profuse language, yet I, your subject, am ashamed of my diction as being immature, my learning is refused by Xie [Ling-yun][17] [i.e., not worthy], and using my shallow talent to record the arcane and profound fragrant traces [i.e., acts of the master] is like loading a heavy load on a weak cart or attempting to draw water from a deep well with a short rope. It is like vainly imitating knitting the eyebrows [i.e., an ugly woman frowning to become a beauty], and I really have no ability to encourage others to become courageous. Although I am eager to explain [about] the mind, I am ashamed for my skill is faulty."

上曰, "兪汝勉之, 退惟之." 盖所謂, 當無責有, 扣寂求音, 石有言而莫覩山輝, 龜無顧而唯聞澗媿. 敢言載筆, 空媿伐柯. 尙以如琢如磨, 自適其適, 設使東陊蓬嶋, 西空芥城, 期妙蹟之猶存, 望玄功之可久, 因敢重宣其義, 遂爲銘云.

The king said, "You should exert yourself [in composing the inscription]. Take leave and think about it!" This corresponds to what is referred to as 'facing nothingness and putting the burden on existence, knocking on silence to seek a rhyme.'[18] The stone [i.e., the stele] has words, but it cannot see the splendor of the mountain. The turtle [upon whose back the stele stands] does

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17 Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385–433) was one of the foremost Chinese poets of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. He was a major exponent of Chinese landscape poetry. His style is allusive and complex, and uses a lot of imagery pertaining to "mountain and streams."

18 晉 陸機《文賦》: "課虛無以責有, 叩寂寞而求音." 唐 楊巨源《贈從弟茂卿》詩: "扣寂由來在淵思, 搜奇本自通禪智."

The activity of planning and thinking about writing and later using these directions to write verse and poetry. The source is from Li Ji's "Wenfu" [Rhapsody on Literature], which reads, "Facing nothingness and putting the burden on existence, knocking on silence to seek a rhyme." This is glossed as "to knock on silence" means to compose poetry. Yang Juyuan of the Tang wrote, "Knocking on silence originates in profound thought; seeking rarity originally comes via Chan wisdom."

not look back, yet it only hears the mountain stream and feels ashamed. How do I dare to say that I carry a writing brush? I feel ashamed for cutting an ax handle to no purpose. I rather should cut and polish [my literary skills], satisfying for myself [instead of] reaching out for others.[19] Even if the Pengdao mountain in the East falls down or the 'mustard seed aeon (sarṣapa; sarṣapopama-kalpa') in the West is emptied, his sublime traces [i.e., the master's deeds] shall remain. I hope that his arcane may last for a long time!

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19 *Zhuangzi*, "Tazong shi Chapter "

古之真人, 不知說生, 不知惡死; 其出不訢, 其入不距; 翛然而往, 翛然而來而已矣. 不忘其所始, 不求其所終; 受而喜之, 忘而復之. 是之謂不以心捐道, 不以人助天. 是之謂真人. 若然者, 其心志, 其容寂, 其顙頯, 淒然似秋, 煖然似春, 喜怒通四時, 與物有宜, 而莫知其極. 故聖人之用兵也, 亡國而不失人心; 利澤施於萬物, 不為愛人. 故樂通物, 非聖人也; 有親, 非仁也; 天時, 非賢也; 利害不通, 非君子也; 行名失己, 非士也; 亡身不真, 非役人也. 若狐不偕、務光、伯夷、叔齊、箕子胥餘、紀他、申徒狄, 是役人之役, 適人之適, 而不自適其適者也.

The True men of old knew nothing of the love of life or of the hatred of death. Entrance into life occasioned them no joy; the exit from it awakened no resistance. Composedly they went and came. They did not forget what their beginning had been, and they did not inquire into what their end would be. They accepted (their life) and rejoiced in it; they forgot (all fear of death), and returned (to their state before life). Thus there was in them what is called the want of any mind to resist the Dao, and of all attempts by means of the Human to assist the Heavenly. Such were they who are called the True men. Being such, their minds were free from all thought; their demeanour was still and unmoved; their foreheads beamed simplicity. Whatever coldness came from them was like that of autumn; whatever warmth came from them was like that of spring. Their joy and anger assimilated to what we see in the four seasons. They did in regard to all things what was suitable, and no one could know how far their action would go. Therefore the sagely man might, in his conduct of war, destroy a state without losing the hearts of the people; his benefits and favours might extend to a myriad generations without his being a lover of men. Hence he who tries to share his joys with others is not a sagely man; he who manifests affection is not benevolent; he who observes times and seasons (to regulate his conduct) is not a man of wisdom; he to whom profit and injury are not the same is not a superior man; he who acts for the sake of the name of doing so, and loses his (proper) self is not the (right) scholar; and he who throws away his person in a way which is not the true (way) cannot command the service of others. Such men as Hu Bu-jie, Wu Guang, Bo-yi, Shu-Qi, the count of Ji, Xu-yu, Ji Ta, and Shen-tu Di, all did service for other men, and sought to secure for them what they desired, not seeking their own pleasure.

[Thus] I dare to again proclaim this [my] intention, as I finally compose the inscription as follows:

大觀沙界.
中有金僊.
施仁不測,
示教無邊.
括囊眞俗,
光被人天.
恩加百億.
化度三千.[其一]

The magnificent sight of the world systems as numerous as grains of sand!
Within it is the golden immortal [i.e., the Buddha] bestowing unfathomable benevolence.
He manifests his teaching boundlessly.
He encompasses the ultimate truth and the secular realm. His brightness shines upon humans and gods.
His favor is conferred to ten billions [of worlds], he instructs and saves [sentient beings] throughout the trichiliocosm.

道豈遠而.
行之則是.
誰其識之.
唯我大士.
眞佛傳心,
覺賢襲美.
宴坐仁山,
優游法水.[其二]

How could the path [i.e., the truth] be in a distant place? If you practice it, it is right there. Who recognizes this? Only our great being [lit.,

'mahāsattva'; ie. the master].
The true Buddha has transmitted this [from mind] to mind, Buddhabhadra [lit. the awakened and the worthies ancestors] inherited it.
They sat quietly on In-san [lit. "benevolent mountain"], wandering leisurely and carefree while [pouring] the water of the Dharma [i.e., the truth likened to water able to wash away the defilements].

早修勝果,
益驗善芽,
道高龍樹,
識洞佛華.
誘人桃李,
濟衆稻麻.
爲師王國,
垂範邦家.[其三]

[The master] early on began cultivating the path and achieved an excellent result [i.e., awakening]. He increased the experience of his good sprout and [as a result]
his path was higher than the Dragon Tree [i.e., Nāgārjuna], his counsciousness was as penetrating as the Buddha Flower [i.e., the Buddha's awakening as exposed in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*].
In guiding people, he [attracted] peaches and plums [i.e., his disciples].
He saved sentient beings, [as numerous as] rice plants and hemp stalks.
He became the teacher of the king and of the country, and he provided a model for the entire nation.

水上之蓮,
星中之月.
凡有歸心,
何殊布髮.
圓照溥天,

葆光如佛.
仰之彌高,
酌之不竭.[其四]

The lotus on the water, the moon among the stars,
All things that exist took refuge in [him with] their minds. How is this any different from [welcoming the Buddha] by spreading one's clothes and hair on the ground [to cover the mud]?
The perfect radiance [of wisdom] [shines] over the vast heaven [i.e., the entire world], nurturing the light like that of the Buddha['s wisdom].
Looking up at it which seems even more high, one never stops considering it.

如龍變化,
似鳳來儀.
或爲教父,
或作導師.
千手千眼,
大慈大悲,
是則是効,
念玆在玆.[其五]

Like the transformation of a dragon, like the image of a coming [i.e., resuscitating] phoenix.
Sometimes he acted as a teaching father, sometimes he acted as a teacher of the path.
With a thousand hands and a thousand eyes, with great loving-kindness and great compassion [like Guanyin],
This is indeed [worth of] emulation, thinking about the fact that [the master wanted] to be here [in his native country].

方謂法身,
只期常住.

傷哉兩楹,
已矣雙樹.
法碣唯銘,
慈顔曷遇.
泣雨空垂,
號天莫駐.[其六]

This is then referred to as the dharma body, which is just permanently abiding.
How sorrowful, the [premonitory dream of one's impending death] between the two pillars [like Confucius]! Already he [passed away into nirvāṇa] between the twin [śāla-]trees [like the Buddha].
Only the inscription on the Dharma-stele [i.e., the master's stele] [remains]. When can we meet with his compassionate face again?
Tears pour down like rain from the sky, wailing and lamenting to heaven do not stop.

太平興國三年, 龍集攝提, 四月日, 立,
金承廉, 刻字.

Established on a day in the fourth month in the third year of the Taiping Xingguo [era] [978].

Characters carved by Kim Sŭng-yŏm.

VII

STELE INSCRIPTION OF CHI'GWANG HAERIN (原州 法泉寺 智光國師 玄妙塔碑文)

7.
Stele Inscription of Chi'gwang Haerin

原州 法泉寺 智光國師 玄妙塔碑文

Stele Inscription of the Hyŏnmyo Stūpa for National Preceptor Chi'gwang at Pŏbch'ŏn-sa in Wŏnju.

贈諡智光國師, 玄妙之塔碑銘.[題額]
高麗國, 原州, 法泉寺, 講眞弘道, 明了頓悟, 戒正高妙應覺, 探玄道源, 通濟淵奥法棟, 具行了性導首, 融炤朗徹, 贈諡智光國師玄妙之塔碑銘, 幷敍.

Stele Inscription of the Hyŏnmyo the Stūpa for the posthumously titled National Preceptor Chi'gwang.

Stele Inscription and Preface to the Hyŏnmyo stūpa for the posthumously titled "National Preceptor Chi'gwang, lecturer about the truth and propagator of the path, who achieved clear comprehension and sudden awakening, upheld the precepts correctly, of excelling subtlety, worthy of awakening, investigator of the arcane source of the path, the ridgepole of the Dharma who thoroughly saved sentient beings and [reached] the profound depths, endowed with practice and had realized the nature [of the mind], and who was full of radiance and penetrating clarity", at Pŏbch'ŏn-sa in Wŏnju, Koryŏ country.

中大夫門下侍郎, 同中書門下平章事, 判尚書禮刑部事, 監脩國史, 兼太子太傅, 上柱國, 臣, 鄭惟産, 奉宣, 撰.
承奉郎, 尚書都官郎中, 賜緋魚袋, 臣, 安民厚, 奉宣, 書, 幷篆額.

Compiled in compliance with royal order by the subject Chŏng Yu-san, Grand Master of the Palace[1], Vice Director of the Chancellery[2], Jointly Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery[3], Supervisor of the Royal Secretary, Director of the Ministry of Rites and Justice, Supervisor of State Historiographers[4] and concurrent Grand Mentor[5] of the Heir Apparent, and Supreme Pillar of State[6].

Written out in seal script in compliance with royal order by the subject An Min-hu, Gentleman for Attendance[7], Minister and Director of the Criminal Administration Bureau, and Recipient of the Crimson Fish-Pouch.

臣聞, 瞿曇彌, 敷演妙音, 亘三摩地, 蘇槃度, 製成高論. 窮八識源, 幹開相應之眞宗, 竊廣顯揚之正敎, 斯所以誡我人於筏喩, 旌主宰與執持. 雖至理本乎虛玄, 等無差別而諸根. 由乎利鈍, 悟有淺深, 然, 汲引於愚迷, 則指陳其權實, 曁乎去佛滋遠, 遺文漸隳.

I, the subject [Chŏng Yu-san] have heard that Gautama [Buddha] proclaimed the sublime sound [i.e., the Buddhist teachings] deploying samādhi and subanta (declension) to produce an excellent discussion. He thoroughly investigated the source of the eight consciousnesses, and disclosed the true teaching of yoga [lit. mutual correspondence]. He extensively propagated the correct teaching in order to warn against the self (ātman) and the person[8] using the metaphor of the raft, and [against the concept of] sovereign lord [i.e., Īśvara] with rules and observances.

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1 Hucker 1627

2 Hucker 3942

3 Hucker 7480

4 Hucker 2626.

5 Hucker 6158.

6 Hucker 4990.

7 Hucker 478.

8 *Wo* and *ren* 我人 are the first two of the four marks of the self in the *Diamond Sūtra* and the

Although the ultimate truth is based on the empty and arcane, it is equal and without differentiation. And [yet] since the faculties of all sentient beings are either sharp or blunt, in awakening there is shallowness or profundity. But in drawing out foolish and deluded [sentient beings], he pointed out the provisional and the real [teaching]. As it is indeed a long time since the Buddha departed, the nourishment [of his teaching] is distant. His bequeathed writings have gradually been lost.

有如玄奘之儔, 念念相續, 探彼修羅之窟, 拳拳服膺, 崇信寶乘, 競騰鋒辯. 襲晋翻而覩奧, 竝振頽綱, 沿隋譯以鉤深, 俱維絶紐. 東流之法, 法非異, 內向者心, 心自通. 玆故, 間出魁雄, 踵爲靈胤, 播威名於賢劫, 研戒定於梵題. 效慈氏之分身,降毗梁帝, 軼文殊之現跡, 來應穆王.

This is like the companion of Xuanzang [who] was continuously mindful and searched in that cave of the asura, sincerely bearing in mind and worshipping the precious vehicle [of Sŏn], vying to propagate [Buddhism] with a sharp eloquence. He had inherited and seen the profoundity [i.e., the profound content of] the [sūtras] translated in the Jin dynasty, and he simultaneously [tried] to restore the degenerated principles. He continued by investigating deeply the sūtras translated in the Sui dynasty, so that these both [the Jin and Sui sūtras] would tie together what had been cut. The Dharma that has spread East is no different in content. The mind of someone who approaches it will achieve understanding by itself. Therefore, once in a while, an eminent hero emerges [in the world] who follows in the footsteps of the spiritual descendants [of the Buddhas] and propagates the prestige [lit. majestic name] of the Buddha] in the [present] Bhadra-kalpa [i.e., sage-aeon], and cultivates *śīla* and *samādhi* according to Sankrit scriptures. As a result, he will be reborn as [an incarnation] of Maitreya and descend into the

Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment: (1) 我相 *woxiang* is the illusion that in the five aggregates there is a real self; (2) 人相 *renxiang* means that this self is a man, and different from beings of the other paths; (3) 衆生相 *zhongsheng xiang* means that all beings have a self born of the five aggregates; (4) 壽者相 *shouzhe xiang* means that the self has age, i.e. a predetermined or fated period of existence.

world to assist Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, and excel at manifesting the traces of Mañjuśrī, and arrive as a response to King Mu [of the Western Zhou dynasty].

普化仁□, 丕弘象正, 顒祈聖祚, 助致鴻均者, 唯我國師而已哉. 師諱海麟, 字巨龍, 俗姓元氏, 幼名水夢, 原州人也. 惟高惟曾, 積善積慶. 爨犠易安貞之繇, 用晦而明, 遵彦升儉約之風, 不剷其朴. 祖諱吉肩, 心卜筮首, 事陰陽著象, 何虞觀變而仰膺. 乹顧鑽龜, 得兆決疑而無俾世迷.

He who universally taught [by spreading the Buddha's teaching], humaneness and … [one character missing], extensively spread the semblance Dharma and the true Dharma, and solemnly prayed for the sage throne [i.e., the prosperity of the royal court], helping to achieve the great peace was our State Preceptor! The master's taboo name was Haerin, his courtesy name was Kŏryong ['Huge dragon']. His secular surname was Wŏn, his child-name was Sumong, and his place of origin was Wŏnju. Only his great-great-grandfather and great-grandfather accumulated merits and good fortune. They considered the cause [of] Xi Yi and An Zhen[9], using what is obscure to clarify, promoted Zunyan's[10] frugal and simple lifestyle, and did not cut off that simplicity. His grandfather's name was Kil-gyŏn, who practised divination with yarrow stalks and used [the theory of] yin and yang to illustrate the [meaning of the] hexagrams.[11] Why would he worry when

9 *Xi Yi* (also written 羲易) refers to one of the arrangements of the eight trigrams known as *Fuxi bagua* 伏羲八卦 in Daoist cosmology. *An Zhen* is a term occurring in the *Book of Changes*, fascicle 2, Kun, and means "resting in firmness";

10 Zunyan 遵彦 was the courtesy name of Yang Yin 楊愔 (511–560), a high level official of the Northern Qi dynasty.

11 The text of the *Yi Jing* is a set of oracular statements represented by 64 sets of six lines each called hexagrams (卦 *guà*). Each hexagram is a figure composed of six stacked horizontal lines (爻 *yáo*), each line is either *yang* (an unbroken, or solid line), or *yin* (broken, an open line with a gap in the center). With six such lines stacked from bottom to top there are 26 or 64 possible combinations, and thus 64 hexagrams.

observing the alteration [of the hexagrams]? He relied on the hexagrams when observing the patterns drilled on turtle shells. He achieved the settling of doubts concerning omens and there was nothing in the world that could delude him.

父諱休, 職簉衙官, 譽先掾吏. 思得床喤之嗣, 愛聞椒衍之詩. 母李氏, 利契提壺, 恭踰擧桉. 無邊善願, 宛然光目婦人, 最勝姝容, 知是妙顏. 聖善嘗夢, 河海澄潡, 井泉涌沵. 因以有娠, 甚於呑氣. 履拇之跡, 那羡於姜嫄. 託胎之期, 冥符於王劭. 旣彌厥月, 爰發其祥. 以雍熙元年, 歲在閼逢涒灘, 涂月, 晦日, 誕師於私第歟.

Hi father's taboo name was Hyu, his office was that of Secondary Headquarters Adjutant,[12] and his reputation was the foremost of the clerks.[13] He longed to obtain a newborn [loudly crying son] as heir. He loved to listen to the poems of prosperity. His mother was from the Yi clan. Her sharp [intellect] conformed to [the etiquette of] taking a wine vessel [for performing rites]. Her respect went beyond that respect expected of a woman toward her husband. Her good vows were boundless, just like the Bright-eyed Lady (i.e., the former existence of Kṣitigarbha). Her countenance was most excellent [in beauty] and known to be that of a sublime face. The mother [lit., sage and virtuous] had a dream, in which the pure [water] of rivers and the ocean overflowed and wells gushed forth. And thus she became pregnant. She was very [devoted] to swallow the vital energy [to feed the embryo]. She followed the traces of the toes [i.e., the precedents of former people]. That would have been the envy of Jiang Yuan.[14] At the time she was entrusted with the embryo, she silently matched [the circumstances

12 Hucker 7860.

13 For the term 掾吏, see Hucker 8231.

14 She was the consort of Emperor Ku 嚳, also known as Gaoxin Shi, a mythical Emperor of China and the great grandson of Huangdi 黃帝, the Yellow Emperor. As a young woman, Jiang Yuan moved by riding the wind and clouds and her feet did not touch the ground. Upon meeting Emperor Ku, she had dreams in which she swallowed the sun and every time she swallowed it she gave birth to a son.

of] Wang Shao.[15] Now that she had reached that full month for parturition, she thereupon emitted those auspicious [signs], and in the first year of Yongxi [era] (984), on the last day of the last month of the [lunar] year, in the twenty-first year of the sexagenary cycle, the master was born in the private residence!

故童年號爲水夢也. 昔明王卽位二十四年, 江河泉池, 忽然汎漲, 是佛生之瑞, 比於吾師, 資始之徵, 一無異焉. 師日蔗分精, 淤蓮稟性. 銳意於斷除貪愛, 非心乎資益色身. 甫及齠季, 勤憶幼學, 謁李守謙, 請業. 謙見異之曰,"余則不知碩量, 爾宜務擇明師矣."

In his childhood years he was named Sumong. In the past, in the twenty-fourth year after the enthronement of King Ming [of the Zhou dynasty], streams and rivers, springs and ponds suddenly overflowed. This was an auspicious sign of Buddha's birth. Compared with our master, there is not the slightest difference with the signs of his beginnings [i.e., conception]. The master [was born] by the sun's vitality being divided, his natural disposition was [as pure] as a lotus grown out of the mud. His intention was keen on eliminating greed and lust, and his mind was not inclined towards investing in benefitting his physical body. When he reached the age of losing the milk teeth, he diligently thought of his education and went to see Yi Su-gyŏm, requesting him to [supervise] his studies. Yi Su-gyŏm saw that he was extraordinary and said to him, "I don't know how to [teach] someone who has the capacity to become an eminent scholar. You should strive to select a bright teacher."

或有一老嫗, 善相者, 見文在手, 謂師曰,"你若爲僧, 必貴於世." 師洎聞達算, 秪事道籌, 不觀孔孟之方, 尚鄙老莊之槪. 錙銖軒冕, 糠粃膏粱.

15 Wang Shao 王韶 was the deputy head and assisted Yang Guang.

There was an old woman skilled at discerning the physiognomy of the people. When she saw the pattern of the lines of his hand, she said to the master, "If you become a monk, you certainly will become the most valuable person in the world." The master, once he heard that he would become an accomplished person, only engaged [himself] in thinking about the path [of Buddhism], and did not concern himself with the method [i.e., the teaching] of Confucius and Mengzi [i.e., Confucianism], and he also disdained the gist [i.e., the fundamental teaching] of Laozi and Zhuangzi. He [viewed] high officials as of little moment and rich food as being [worthless] like chaff.

遽就法皐寺, 大師寬雄處, 斅學之次, 雄公適指京華, 俄辞水石, 彼則浮杯以渡, 纔出五雲, 我則負笈而追, 匪遙千里, 同歸輦下, 卽占山西, 旋接于海安寺. 俊光方丈, 剃髮毁容, 出家脩道, 蕲展縟儀於函杖, 款窮縹帙於貫花. 魏蒼舒秤象之年, 解傳眞諦, 迦衛國駈烏之類, 僉讓金公, 其於檢括機緣, 迺□激揚宗要, 一聞千悟, 功倍於嚴師.

He hurriedly went to Pŏpko-sa, the dwelling place of the Great Master Kwan'ung. While he was in the process of studying [under him], Master Kwan'ung went to the capital [i.e., Kaegyŏng]. Then suddenly [Haerin] departed the [mountain scenery of] waters and stones. As he [Kwan'ung] then crossed the river on a boat, leaving the five clouds [i.e., the mountains surrounding the monastery], he [Haerin] carried his case of books and followed him. Not thinking a thousand *li* far, together they went to the capital [i.e., Kaegyŏng], where he stayed to the west of the mountain [i.e., Pongmyŏng-san west of the capital] and adjacent to Haean-sa. The abbot [of Haean-sa] Chungwang performed his tonsure, [thereby] refashioning his appearance [as a monk]. He thus became a monk and cultivated the path. He besought his master to [permit him to serve him by] performing the rite of unfolding his bedding. He earnestly and thoroughly [studied] the books [i.e., sūtras] concerning the garland of flowers [i.e., Huayan]. At the age corresponding of that of Cangshu in the Wei dynasty, who [knew the method to] weigh an elephant, he [i.e., the master] [already] understood the transmitted ultimate truth [i.e., Buddhism], and [at the young age of]

the notices who acted as scarecrow in the country of Kapilavastu[16], he was unanimously referred to as "Venerable Kim." He investigated the [spiritual] faculties and conditions, and then vigorously spread the essential teachings [of Sŏn]. By hearing one [thing], he understood a thousand things. The merit of his practice was many times larger than that of his teacher [lit. 'strict teacher'].

兩智三明, 道存於紹佛. 雄公, 悅而名之海潾. 以統和十七年, 首夏之月, 稟具於龍興寺之官壇. 洗心離染, 如手畵空矣. 時年二九, 例被崇敎寺開刱之恩, 初職爲得名也. 仍赴慈雲寺唱薩之場, 焚脩向畢. 雄公, 於法泉寺, 安寢之頃間, 夢見一鷹飛到, 則伸左拳以捧之, 又兩山君, 來入於後園, 互相踊躍, 徹明而去. 雄公異而誌之, 翊日師謁來本寺, 此其應也. 師夢到海濱, 手捉小魚呑之, 覺而解之曰, "魚則鱗也." 因以鱗爲名, 巨龍爲字矣.

He had the two kinds of wisdom and the three kinds of insight.[17] The path was preserved by his continuing the [lineage of the] Buddha. Venerable Kwan'ung was pleased [about him] and named him 'Haerin.' In the month of the beginning of summer [i.e., the fourth lunar month] of the seventeenth year of the Tonghuo era [999], he received the full ordination precepts at the official platform [i.e., government sponsored platform] of Yonghŭng-sa. He cleansed his mind and abandoned defilements just like drawing a picture with his hands in empty space. When he was twenty-nine years old, as a favor for having supervised the establishment of Sunggyo-sa, he was nominated as its first abbot. Then he went to attend the "sādhu" ceremony at Cha'un-sa, at which he performed the rite of offering incense to [the

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16 This refers to novice monks (śrāmaṇera) from seven to thirteen years of age, being old enough to drive away crows. See Soothill, p. 485.

17 *Sammyŏng* 三明 refers to three kinds of supernormal cognitions, namely: the power of divine vision 天眼通, wherein one can observe the full course of passage by sentient beings through the six destinies; the power of the knowledge of previous lifetimes 宿命通, whereby one knows the events of countless kalpas of previous lifetimes experienced by oneself as well as all the beings in the six destinies; the power of the extinction of defilements 漏盡通, whereby one completely extinguishes all afflictions of the three realms, and thus is no longer subject to rebirth in the three realms.

Buddha]. Once, as Venerable Kwan'ung was sleeping peacefully at Pŏbch'ŏn-sa, he saw in a dream how a falcon flew to him and, as he stretched out his left fist, he could hold it in his hand. Also, two [mountain] tigers entered into the rear garden [within the monastery's precinct], leaping and playing with each other, all through the night and leaving at dawn. Venerable Kwan'ung viewed this as a strange occurrence and kept it in mind. The following day, as the master [Haerin] came to visit him at the monastery, he realized that [his dream] corresponded to his visit [i.e., the dream heralded Haerin's visit]. [Later on,] the master dreamt that he went to the seashore and, having caught a small fish with his hand, swallowed it. When he awoke, he went to an oneiromancer who said, "The fish refers to [Hae]rin [i.e., 'fish scale']." Therefore, he changed the character of Haerin's name into 'fish scale' and gave him the courtesy name of Kŏryong [lit. "Huge dragon"].

春秋二十一, 赴王輪寺大選, 談經而言近意深. 命侶而問同答異. 彼觖望者, 如盲之執燭, 或醜爭者, 止語於銜枚. 心息諸緣, 敢歎波濤之依水, 法離群動, 應嗤槖籥之假風. 解議圍而憍梵壘降. 峨忍鎧兮, 尼軋轍亂.

At the age of twenty-one, he attended the grand selection [i.e., the monastic examinations] at Wangnyun-sa. In discussing the sūtras, his words were approachable [i.e., easy to understand, simple] but his meaning was profound. He was given the same questions as his fellows, but his answers were different. The dissatisfied and resentful were like a blind person holding a candle. Again, those who were quarrelsome contenders stopped speaking, as if they were gagged. As the mind brings all conditioning to rest, how could one dare to sigh at the waves for relying on the water? As the Dharma [i.e., the truth he obtained] is separated from all movement [i.e., discriminatory activities], he ought to sneer at the artificial wind of windbags [i.e., the futile discussions caused by other monks].[18] [The group of monks in] the discussion arena [who debated against him] collapsed like Gavāṃpati

18 A reference to the futile discussions by other monks.

[who became a disciple of the Buddha]. How majestic is his armor of forbearance![19] He [was like the Buddha who subdued] the confused teaching [lit. wagon tracks] of Nirgrantha [Mahāvīra].

捉麈而一趍, 試可折床之衆. 許明揚仍署大德. 于時師以謂曰, "紛吾慙後於義龍瑞聖, 冀先於仁獸故, 暨以麟改鱗爲名也." 統和年中, 受法號曰, "講眞弘道", 二十八年, 師將還法皐寺, 路値都講眞肇, 偕行次, 聞肇公會曆算之法, 師請傳之. 取則而易於反掌, 移謀而明若發矇, 賈餘勇於恒流, 究多能於鄙事者矣. 屬統秝末考, 我聖考顯宗, 御宇第五年也. 特蒙睿奬, 加署大師.

[Haerin] grasped his whisk and waved it once [left and right]. It was as if the seats [in the Monk Hall] were about to collapse[20] due to the [large] assembly. [The king] openly praised him and bestowed upon him the rank of taedŏk [lit. "great virtue"]. At that time, the master said, "I am confused and ashamed for succeeding to scholar monks [lit., dragons (conversant) in the meaning (of the Buddhist teaching)] and the Auspicious Noble One [ie., the Buddha]. Because I hope to precede the unicorn [i.e., Confucius]. I shall modify the character 'rin' of my name from rin meaning 'unicorn' to rin meaning 'fish scale.'"

During the years of the Tonghe era [983–1011], he received the Dharma-title "Kangjin Hongdo" [lit., "lecturing on the truth and promoting the path"]. In the twenty-eighth year [of the Tonghe era, i.e., 1010], as the master was returning to Pŏpko-sa, on the road he met the chief lecturer Chinjo, and they traveled together. Then, having heard that the Venerable

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19 *Ingae* (Ch. *renkai* 忍鎧, S. **kṣānti-varman*) refers to the perfection of forbearance (S. *kṣānti-pāramitā*) that a bodhisattva has to practice. It consists of the ability to endure hardship, based on the awareness of the emptiness of all phenomena.

20 *Jingde chuandeng lu*, "Biography of Chan Master Ruhui of Dong Monastry, Hunan"《景德傳燈錄·湖南東寺如會禪師》: "Ruhui first visited Qingshan, and later consulted Daji [Mazu] As the students were a crowd, the meditation bench in the monks hall broke. At the time he was called broken bench Hui "[如會]初謁 徑山, 後参 大寂, 學徒旣衆, 僧堂內牀榻爲之陷折. 時稱折牀會也." 後以 "折牀" 形容與會僧衆之多. 宋 餘靖《廣州南海縣羅漢院記》: "四方之來, 折牀而勿拒."

Chinjo was skilled in the method of calendrics, the master requested he transmit [this knowledge] to him. He took in this [knowledge] as easy as turning over one's hand. [For the master] to put it into practice, it was so self-evident that even a blind person would understand it. It was like buying a surplus of courage for the common people, or like examining many abilities which are [but] mean matters.[21] This [event] corresponded to the last year of the Tonghe era, in the fifth year since our king Hyŏnjong had ascended the throne [i.e., 1014, which does not correspond to the Tonghe era which ended in 1011]. [The master] specially received the title of Great Master from the far-sighted [king] as a reward.[22]

太中祥符十年賜法號爲‘明了頓悟’, 天禧五年, 於鎬京重興寺, 爲夏講說, 師談傾法, 澤伻火宅以晨凉. 炤徹慈燈底昏衢之夜, 曉竺乾西意. 師每一稱箕子古都. 衆皆三讚. 其後見耆宿先公, 社會詞疏, 文理不便, 改而製之, □□□道, 翦截浮辭. 出語成章, 恵璩以之魄褫, 分文足韻, 曇憑于以顏怩, 其道姸敏捷之能, 侯誰的對乎.

In the tenth year of the Dazhong Xiangfu era [1017], he was given the title "Myŏngnyo Ton'o" [lit. "clear comprehension and sudden awakening"]. In the fifth year of the Tianxi era [1021], a series of lectures was given during the summer retreat at Chunghŭng-sa in the capital [Kaegyŏng], at which the master gave a lecture in which he poured the Dharma out so as to soak

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21 This is a reference to *Lunyu*, Zi Han Chapter:

> 子罕: 大宰問於子貢曰:「夫子聖者與? 何其多能也?」子貢曰:「固天縱之將聖, 又多能也.」子聞之, 曰:「大宰知我乎!吾少也賤, 故多能鄙事. 君子多乎哉? 不多也.」
>
> "Zi Han: A high officer asked Zi Gong, saying, 'May we not say that your Master is a sage? How various is his ability!' Zi Gong said, 'Certainly Heaven has endowed him unlimitedly. He is about to be a sage. And, moreover, his ability is various.' The Master heard of the conversation and said, 'Does the high officer know me? When I was young, my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, but they were mean matters. Must the superior man have such variety of ability? He does not need variety of ability.'"

22 Note that three characters are missing here and Jikwan reconstructs this as 署大師.

the sentient beings in the burning house [i.e., in the secular world] as if it was the early morning chill. The penetrating light of his lamp of compassion brought to an end the darkness of the streets [of the world] at night. He made clear the meaning of the Indian [patriarch Bodhidharma] coming from the West [to China]. The master often praised the old capital [founded] by Jizi[23], and all the assembled monks repeated his praises three times. Later on, as he saw that the memorial drafted by the elderly monk, the Venerable Sŏn, for the communal rite [to the earth gods] contained some incongruent passages, he amended and rewrote it. … [three characters missing] … cutting out the superfluous verbiage. Whatever he uttered orally, he was able to compose into well-written sentences. [Compared to him, even] the vigor of Huiqu's[24] [writing] eroded away. If one subdivided his writing [into lines], they rhymed, so that even Tanping's[25] face would blush in shame. Who could possibly be a match for his forceful and agile literary talent?

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23 was a semi-legendary Chinese sage who is said to have migrated to and ruled Kojosŏn 古朝鮮 in the eleventh century BCE. Early Chinese documents describe him as a relative of the last king of the Shang dynasty. After the Shang was overthrown by the Zhou, he allegedly provided political advice to King Wu, the first Zhou king. Chinese texts from the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE) onwards claimed that King Wu enfeoffed Jizi as ruler of Chaoxian (K. Chosŏn 朝鮮). According to the *Book of Han*, Jizi introduced etiquette, agriculture, sericulture, and other aspects of Chinese civilization to Chosŏn. The first extant Korean text to mention Kija was the *Samguk Sagi* (1145). There are records indicating that shrines commemorating Kiji were established in P'yŏngyang in the mid-Koryŏ period and that he became the focus of a cult. In the late thirteenth century, Kiji was described as a successor to the descendants of Tangun in Kojosŏn. In the early Chosŏn Dynasty, Kiji was promoted as a cultural hero who had raised Korean civilization to the same level as China, and he became an integral part of Korean cultural identity.

24 Huiqu 惠璩 (394–464) was a monk in the Liu Song Dynasty, famous for his skills in Buddhist liturgical chanting (*fanbai* 梵唄). He was venerated by Emperor Wen 文 (r. 424–453) and Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r. 453–464). His biography is included in the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳. (T. 2059.50.416a).

25 Tanping 曇憑 was a monk expert in Buddhist liturgical chanting and tonality. His biography is included in the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳. (T. 2059.50.414b).

太平年中, 加重大師, 戒正高妙應覺爲號, 住持水多寺. 十季, 有勅移住海安寺. 迄于悳宗臨朝, 轉甚重之, 特授三重大師, 幷賜磨衲法服一領, 加法稱曰, '探玄道源.' 未幾, 加授首座, 兼賜磨衲田衣一笥者. □□□滋深, 寧許井蛙之測. 緇流翩賀, 却輕厦燕之投, 疑出世之覺王. 幸同時於仁主, 盖海之聲無央數, 懸河之辯不盡言.

During the years of the Taiping era [1021–1030], he was granted the title of Exalted Great Master [chungdaesa] and given the title of Kyejŏng Komyo Ŭnggak [lit. "correctness of precepts, lofty subtlety, and worthy of awakening"], and he assumed the position of abbotship at Suda-sa. In the tenth year [1030], by royal edict he moved his residence to Haean-sa. Then when Tŏkjong ruled the court [i.e., 1031–1034], the king venerated him even more and especially bestowed on him [the title of] Triply Exalted Great Master and concomitantly presented him with one Dharma-robe made of silk, and conferred on him the Dharma-title Tamhyŏn Towŏn [lit., "Investigating the arcane and the source of the path"]. Before long, he was granted the [title of] head monk [sujwa; lit. head seat] and concurrently was presented with one bamboo basket containing one field of merit robe made from silk. [Three characters missing; The water of the great ocean (of his wisdom)] became thus even deeper. How could this [depth] be measured by a frog in a well? The monks exuberantly congratulated him. However, he disdained this as being [trivial] like the congratulations sent on the completion of a new house. He was suspected of being like the king of awakening [i.e., the Buddha Śākyamuni] who appeared in the world [again]. Fortunately, he [appeared in the world] at the same time as the benevolent ruler [i.e., King Tŏkjong]. His ocean-covering sound [i.e., the sound of his preaching the Dharma] was limitless [lit. numberless], and his waterfall-like eloquence was inexhaustive.

重凞季中, 加號曰, '通濟淵奥法楝.' 忽一旦, 宣許入內, 俾演蓮經. 師螭陛躡雲, 猊床講雨, 標眞顯正. 牛車之奥旨箕張, 剪惑裁疑. 龜木之妙詮玉振, 暨諧黈聽, 奚恡珍頒. 別賜細繡幢相服二領. 十四年, 擢授僧統. 迨于今聖上, 育夏臨民, 甄般布政, 洪業, 己臻於懿鑠, 淪誠, 深切於那摩. 迺召師於琳宮, 講唯心妙義, 仍賜磨衲僧伽梨一領.

In the years of the Zhongxi [i.e., Zhonghe] era [1032–1055], he was granted the title "T'ongje Yŏn'o Pŏptong" [lit. "ridgepole of the Dharma who thoroughly saving (sentient beings) and (reached) the profound depths"]. Suddenly, one day, by a royal decree [of king Chŏngjong] he was invited into the royal palace to lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra*. The master ascended the steps to the royal palace and "walked on clouds" [i.e., walked on the high grounds of the palace] to the lion seat where he lectured [eloquently] his words pouring like rain, as he indicated the truth and revealed the correct [teaching of the Dharma]. He deployed the profound meaning of the ox cart [i.e., the parable of the burning house in the *Lotus Sūtra*], excising confusion and cutting off doubts. His subtle explanation [of the Dharma], being [as rare as the likelihood of] a [blind] turtle swimming in the ocean to come across a floating piece of wood, moved the king who listened to it attentively. How could he possibly be reluctant in bestowing treasures? [Thus the king] especially bestowed on him two fine embroidered robes in the shape of a banner [of the Buddha's stūpa]. In the fourteenth year [1045], he was promoted to [the rank of] superintendent of monks.

And now the sage King [Munjong] rules the people by nurturing [the tradition] of the Xia dynasty, like [the emperor Wu of the Zhou dynasty who] eliminated [the ruler of the] Yin dynasty and spread [a benevolent] government policy. As his vast undertaking already reached an admirable level of prosperity, his pure sincerity was heartfelt in taking refuge [in the three jewels of Buddhism]. Then he summoned the master into the jade palace [i.e., the royal palace], where he had him to lecture on the sublime meaning of mind-only, upon which he presented him one monk robe [*saṇghāṭī*] made of silk.

漢闕九重, 負扆者, 親迎象步, 慧徒十百, 升堂者, 謂透龍門. 邃公, 慙在北之精通, 僧徹, 讓流中之寵錫. 其年中, 荐加 '具行了性導首' 爲號, 且或祇園釋胤, 寔惟教所由興. 戚里神童疇, 不禮聋來學. 是以故守大師, 門下侍中, 追贈中書令, 章和公李, 諱子淵, 遂許第五男, 遄令落髮, 竚望摳衣, 爲神足以服勤. 謁法身而讚仰, 何者, 今金山寺住持三重大師, 韶顯是也. 大師辭親甲第. 節食卯齋. 想椒掖之后妃,

悉云同氣, 矧萼樓之兄弟, 皆謂此甥.

The king, sitting on the throne and governing the state [lit. "relying on the screen"] in the nine-layered royal palace, personally received the Elephant-gaited Ones [i.e., eminent monks] and the disciples of wisdom, a thousand in number.

Those who ascended the hall were those who had passed through the dragon gate [i.e., the gate of success by passing the monastic examinations]. [They had] the thorough expertise of Venerable Tansui[26] who was ashamed of sitting in the north [the position of the ruler, and lecturing to a disciple in the south] and received the favor that [even] Sengche[27] had declined among the assembly of monks.

During those years [of the Zhongxi era], he again was conferred the title "Kuhaeng Yosŏng Tosu" [lit., "the leading guide (of sentient beings) endowed with practice, and who had realized the nature (of the mind)"]. Furthermore, as a descendant of Śākyamuni in the Jetavana [grove and monastery], this was solely for having brought the teaching [of Buddhism] to flourish. Those belonging to the category of child prodigies in the village of royal in-laws came to attend instruction without having to perform the rite of listening to him. Therefore the Acting Grand Preceptor[28] and Director of the Chancellery, posthumously conferred the title of Director of the Secretariat,[29] the Duke of Changhwa, Yi Cha-yŏn (Cha-yŏn being his taboo name), finally allowed his fifth son to quickly undergo the tonsure ceremony and to wait [i.e, hoping for the opportunity] to perform the rite of rolling up [the sleeves of] his robe [as a sign of discipleship], become his disciple and practise assiduously. He [then] went to visit and pay respect to him

26 Tansui's 曇邃 biography is included in the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳. (T. 2059.50.406b).

27 Sengche 僧徹 was a disciple of Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334–416). His biography is included in the *Liang gaoseng zhuan* 梁高僧傳. (T. 2059.50.370c).

28 守太師 for 守大師. See Hucker 6213.

29 *Zhongshu ling* 中書令. See Hucker 1619.

[lit. the Dharma-body]. Who was that person? He was the Triply Exalted Great Master Sohyŏn, who now is the abbot of Kŭmsan-sa. [Thereupon] the Great Master [Sohyŏn] took leave from his parents and from their first-rate mansion. He restricted his meals by eating only in the morning [between five and seven a.m.]. The maternal royal relatives of the queen were all his siblings. Moreover, the prince's [lit., "calyx pavilion"] elder and younger brothers were all his nephews.

乃如之人, 以致其道, 併通儒釋, 頓絶等倫. 德行文章, 夐掩魯堂十哲, 慈悲智惠, 全超魏寺千僧. 資峻玄班, 力扶赫世. 其壯麗師門之盛, 莫之與京乎. 重熙二十三年, 南吕月, 有聖勑移住玄化寺, 師固辭不得. 迺捨騮馬一疋, 先納于寺. 俄有一比丘, 來申賀謝, 須臾不知所去, 此則聖僧之靈驗也. 入院後, 夜分魂栩之際, 與一僧同遊, 則傍有神人, 告曰,"而國師也, 彼王師也." 寤則言猶在耳.

Such a person [Haerin] in his path combined an understanding of Confucianism and Buddhism. There was nobody who could equal him. His virtuous conduct and literary style by far eclipsed [that of] the ten wise ones [i.e., disciples] of Venerable Lu [i.e., Confucius]. His compassion and wisdom completely surpassed those of the thousand monks in the monasteries of the Wei dynasty.

His natural disposition elevated the arcane class [hyŏnban, i.e., the monkhood], his power supported and illuminated the [sentient beings in the] world. As for the magnificence and prosperity of the master's disciples, there was no one more eminent than him.

In the eighth month of the twenty-third year of the Chongxi era, a royal decree was issued to have him move his residence to Hyŏnhwa-sa, but although the master firmly declined, he had to accept it. Thereupon [the king] donated one fast [red] horse which he offered in advance to that monastery. All of a sudden, there was a monk who came to express his congratulation and gratitude [for the horse]. But after a moment [he disappeared] and nobody knew where he had gone. This indeed was the miracle of the noble monk [i.e., Mañjuśrī]. After he had entered the monastery, one day at midnight, when he was about to fall asleep, while he

was associating with another monk, a divine being [appeared] next to him, who told him, saying, "You shall become National Preceptor, and he [the other monk] shall become Royal Preceptor." When he awoke, these words were still fresh in his ears.

嘉兆首稱於瑞錄, 吉音漏溢於環區矣, 況國師也, 何偏局乎內宗. 亦兼贏乎外典. 生知衆妙, 夙齡欺朱勃才童. 强識群書, 時譽冠惠超. 學士至若, 詞峯倚日, 筆塚擎天. 若警句之愈工被鉅儒之寡. 和湯開士, 碧雲雅作, 豈是瓌奇. 李謫仙白雪清吟, 誠爲瑣劣. 較於緇素之侶, 亦不可同年而語矣. 其或期憑, 梵福益盛.

[This is] an excellent omen, foremost to be praised as a propitious record. The auspicious sound permeated into the whole world. How much more so the National Preceptor! How could he possibly be limited to the inner teaching [i.e., Buddhism]? He was also proficient in the outer scriptures [i.e., non-Buddhist teachings]. He had an innate knowledge of all wonders. At an early age, [his precocity] disdained the child prodigy of a Zhu Bo[30]. As he was strong in memorizing a multitude of writings, at that time his fame topped that of Huichao[31]. As a scholar, he went so far that his words were [like a high mountain] peak leaning on the sun, the mound of his [worn-out] writing brushes supported the sky. He studied the striking sentences [i.e., admonitions of Confucius?] even more diligently, so as to be [influenced] by the scant [erudition] of eminent scholars. A harmonious and energetic bodhisattva, [reciting] refined [poetry] of blue clouds. How could this possibly [not] be extraordinary and strange? The clear recitation of Li Zhexian's [i.e., Li Bo] [poem] "White Snow" truly [sounds] mediocre [compared to him]. He should not be compared to his monastic and lay companions. It was likely due to him that "Brahmā's virtue" [i.e., Buddhism] was more prosperous.

30 Zhu Bo 朱勃: was a child prodigy who later became an official in the Later Han period. His biography is included in the *Houhanshu* 後漢書, fasc. 54.

31 Huichao's 惠超 (alternatively written 慧超) biography is included in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳, fasc. 28. (T 2060.50.687b).

宸圖, 傾檀施之財, 蕆工依之價. 爰徵愷筆, 繪出睟容, 或鑄凫鍾, 兼成法具. 新營寶刹, 移覩史之天宮. 敬造金言, 悉拘那之海藏, 斯所謂始檀乎. 發弘誓願, 終圓乎締大因緣. 其諸善奉行之采, 豈可殫籌乎. 清寧二年, 十月日, 上謂之曰, "鵬耇, 則非法無以救迷, 轂聖則, 非師無以請益." 苟能悟法者, 可以爲師乎.

The king's mind was inclined to provide wealth as donation for the expenses to complete the [restoration] work [of Hyŏnhwa-sa]. Hence he commissioned an eminent artist to paint a portrait [of the master's] clear-eyed countenance. He also had cast a Fu-style bell and produced [all] ritual objects [i.e., Dharma-utensils] [for the monastery]. The newly refurbished monastery [lit. precious kṣetra, or Buddha-realm] looked as if the heavenly palace [of Maitreya] in the Tuṣita [heaven] had been moved [to earth]. The [sūtras containing] the golden words [of the Buddha] had been reverently produced [i.e., printed or copied]. The entire meritorious ocean repository [of sūtras] [i.e., the dragon palace in the ocean] was the so-called dāna, first of the [*paramītā*]. [Then] the [four] great vows [of the bodhisattva] were made and finally [the king] established a perfect karmic connection [with the master]. How could one exaustively enumerate all good deeds that he performed [as his disciple]? On a day of the tenth month in the second year of the Qingning era [1056], the king said [to him], "When a Peng bird becomes old, he cannot be saved from delusion except by the Dharma. Even a newly hatched saint cannot request for additional instruction if he has no teacher. If one is able to awaken to the Dharma, then one can be considered as a teacher."

特降國書諮請. 遂差遣工部侍郎張仲英, 尚書左丞柳紳, 禮部侍郎金良贄等, 備行三反之禮, 續遣知中樞院事, 異惟忠, 押賜錦罽法服, 銀黃器用香荈等.

As a special gesture, [the king] sent him an official letter inviting him [to court]. [As he declined], [the king] finally dispatched the Vice Director of the Ministry of Works, Chang Chung-yŏng, the Senior Aide to the Imperial Secretary, Yu Sin, and the Vice Director of the Ministry of Rites, Kim Yang-ji, to prepare for the performance of [the master's] rite of declining three

times. Subsequently he dispatched the Administrator of the Bureau of Military Affairs, Yi Yu-ch'ung, with a [letter] signed [by the king himself] and a Dharma robe made with brocade from Kashmir, as well as utensils in silver and gold to be used for [keeping] incense and tea leaves.

師膠讓不獲命. 卽以十一月四日, 大駕, 行幸于內帝釋院, 備禮拜爲王師. 彼其周之同載, 吳之同輦者, 共在下風矣. 三季, 進法稱曰, '融炤.' 四年五月初一日, 上, 欲封爲國師, 致書三請. 以是月十九日, 備金駕, 親幸奉恩寺, 封我所爲國師, 封靈通寺主僧統爛圓, 爲王叱者, 涓辰竝授於丕稱, 兩相合矣. 同日秖承於摯寵, 二美顯焉.

The master stubbornly declined, but he could not decline the order. Then, on the fourth day of the eleventh month, the royal carriage [carrying the master] arrived in the Inner Chapel devoted to Emperor Śakra [i.e., Indra; the Nae chesŏk Cloister], where the king ceremoniously installed him as Royal Preceptor. [Later on] he traveled around together [with the king] in this carriage, [like the emperor of] the Wu dynasty who traveled together with [Kang Senghui]. While together, the king [i.e., Munjong] was under the influence of [the master]. In the third year [of the Qingning era], he was presented with the Dharma title "Yungso" [lit. "full of radiance"]. On the first day of the fifth month in the fourth year [of the Qingning era], the king, wishing to install him as National Preceptor, sent him a letter, presenting his request three times. On the nineteenth day of that [same] month, [the king] prepared his golden carriage to personally go to Pongŭn-sa to install our master as National Preceptor and to install the abbot of Yŏngt'ong-sa, the superintendent of monks Nanwŏn, as Royal Preceptor. He [the king himself] selected the day and granted them those great titles. Both of them were in mutual accord, as they merely received the sincere [royal] favor on the same day, which manifested two beautiful [i.e., praiseworthy] events [at the same time].

觀其所由, 歎未曾有. 嚮所夢神人之吉語, 必識此矣. 同遊之僧, 靈通寺主是也.

五季陽月八日, 師赴內殿, 爲百座會, 第一說主. 才宣半偈, 荐集丕休. 累進法稱曰, 朗徹.

If we look for the reason of that, the acclaim for this unprecedented occurrence refers to the auspicious words which are the certain prediction [of the master's appointment as National Preceptor] by the divine being who appeared in the dream. The monk who associated with [the master on that night] refers to the abbot of Yŏngt'ong-sa [i.e., Nanwŏn]. On the eight day of the tenth [lunar] month in the fifth year [of the Qingning era, ie., 1059], the master went into the inner hall [of the royal palace] to attend the Gathering of Hundred [high] Seats [i.e., senior monks] as the primary expounder of the Dharma. As soon as he proclaimed half a verse [large crowds] successively gathered [causing] a great auspiciousness. [Thus] the king presented him the Dharma-title "Nangch'ŏl" [lit. "Penetrating clarity"].

咸雍三年二月日, 師欲歸安于法泉寺, 幾興暮齒之嗟, 縷陳身退, 三上需頭之奏, 確執懇辭. 上優詔從之. 以九月二十二日, 駕幸玄化寺, 特設闔院僧齋, 兼置寅餞之筵訖. 率□班拜辭後, 則遣左承宣中書舍人, 鄭惟産, 押上茶藥琺貨等, 名數夥多, 删煩不載. 叱取是月, 二十七日, 發行, 指本山.

On a day in the second month in the third year of the Xianyong era [1067], the master wished to return to and settle down in Pŏpch'ŏn-sa, and several times lamented his old age. He stated in detail [to the king] his intention to retire and three times submitted a memorial to the king, firmly and sincerely [pleading that the king] accept his request. The king [i.e., Munjong] with magnitude, ordered by decree that [his plea] be followed. Thereby, on the twenty-second day of the ninth month, [the king] went in his carriage to Hyŏnhwa-sa, where he specially provided a vegetarian feast for the entire [body of monks residing at that] monastery and also gave, and attended to the end, a feast commemorating the [master's] retirement. [The king] led the Two Ranks[32] [i.e., civilian officials and military officers]

32 Hucker 3672.

in taking leave of [the master]. Then he dispatched the Commissioner of the Left and First Secretary of the Secretariat, Chŏng Yu-san, to deliver a signed letter [of the king himself], tea, medicine, and other precious goods, whose names being too numerous have been omitted and not recorded here. The master selected the twenty-seventh day of that month to depart for the designated main temple [i.e., Pŏpch'ŏn-sa].

上命太子, 率諸王百僚於南郊餞別, 特差道俗員寮等, 慰送于本寺也. 師下山後, 三□仲夏之月, 聖上以延德宮, 第六王子, 許令剃髮, 捿息于玄化寺. 舊住奉天院, 特授首座者, 斯緣類肖國師之邊幅也. 是歲十月, 二十三日, 晏陰右臥而寢, 此夜, 零雨其濛.

The king ordered the Heir Apparent lead the aristocrats and the hundred state officials to attend a farewell feast [for the master] at the southern suburbs [of the capital]. He especially dispatched monastic and lay officials to escort him to this monastery [i.e., Pŏpch'ŏn-sa]. In the fifth month of the third year after the master had returned to the monastery [i.e., settled back in his former monastery; Pŏpch'ŏn-sa], the king [Munjong] in the Yŏndŏk Palace granted permission to his fourth [the text has sixth, but this is probably a mistake] prince [i.e., his son Ŭich'ŏn] to take tonsure and stay [as a monk] at Hyŏnhwa-sa. Formerly when he [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn] was residing [as abbot?] at Pongch'ŏn-wŏn he was specially granted [the rank of] Head-seat (sujwa). This was because he belonged to the National Preceptor's [Haerin] entourage. On the twenty-third day of the tenth month of that year [1067], he peacefully reclined on his right side and slept. That night, a fine rain fell.

師寤而趺坐, 謂弟子曰, 兒□□□答曰, 雨也. 聞言則示化矣. 昔鶖子入滅, 無色諸天, 所泣之淚, 如春細雨, 今之夜雨, 豈非諸天之淚乎.

The master woke up and sat cross-legged. He said to his disciples, "You … [three characters missing; probably the disciple's name being obliterated on purpose] … his disciple replied, "It is raining." Upon hearing these words, he then passed away. In the past when Śāriputra entered extinction [i.e.,

nirvāṇa], the tears shed by the gods of the formless realm were just like the fine rain in spring. Now, how could the rain of that night not likewise be the tears of the gods?

嗚呼哀哉, 報年八十七, 僧臘七十二. 卽世前夜, 有二星見, 其大如燈, 又有大虹二條, 如赤龍之雙臥. 此□□□示滅之兆也.

Alas! He was eighty-seven years old and had been a monk for seventy-two years. On the night before he passed away, two stars [i.e., comets] the size of lamps appeared. Also there were two large rainbows like a pair of two crouching red dragons. This … [three characters missing] … was the presage of his nirvāṇa.

門□首座法靈, 三重大師詔顯等, 擗踊訃聋於彤陛. 上則震悼, 尋遣左街僧錄崇演, 保章正全參藺等, 監護葬事, 續差遣專介, 往彼殯堂, 致其卓祭, 贈諡曰智光, 併賜茶香油燭, 及原州倉穀, 以充拔薦之資. 十一月九日, 選勝于法泉寺之山東, 荼毗禮也. 是時, 人祇憯慟, 天地晦冥, 鳥獸悲鳴, 峯巒慘列, 有情無情, 皆感德之終乎.

His disciples, the Head Seat Pŏmnyŏng and the Triply Exalted Great Master Sohyŏn, beat their breasts and stamped their feet, weeping bitterly. They informed the king [Munjong; lit. the "red palace stairs"] of [their master's] death. The king then grieved deeply. He [then] dispatched the Monastic Personnel Registry Officer of the Left Division, [the monk] Sung'yŏn and the Director of Calendrical Calculations[33] Chŏn Sam-rin to supervise his funeral. Subsequently he dispatched the Edict Carrier[34] to go to [the master's] memorial hall to ensure a distinguished funerary service. [The king] conferred on him the posthumous title "Chi'gwang" [lit. "ray of wisdom"] and offered tea, incense, and candle-oil. Also he had grain stored

33 Hucker 4452.

34 For 專介 cf. 專令 Edict Carrier [Hucker 1499]

in Wŏnju to be used to subsidize the costs of his funerary rite. On the ninth day of the eleventh month, he selected a scenic spot on the east [corner] of the mountain [i.e., Myŏngbong-san] of Pŏbch'ŏn-sa to perform the rite of cremation. At that time [i.e., at the master's cremation ceremony], human beings and the spirits [of the earth] were deeply sorrowful, heaven and earth turned gloomy and dark. The birds and beasts lamented, ridges and peaks lined up mournfully. Sentient and insentient beings all felt that [the influence of the master's] virtue had come to an end.

上追嘉軌範, 敢弗標題, 欲使刊黃絹之辭, 樹貞珉而不朽. 焕赤髭之躅, 流歷代□長存, 爰命鯫儒, 俾甄鴻烈. 臣, 牛涔校量兎海, 寡能謬奉綸宣, 罔由綦讓. 挹其風而紀其德. 雖堅匪石之心, 膚於學而拙於才. 自愧無錢之手, 輒將狂斐. 但罄捧培, 謹爲銘曰.

The king cherished the [master's] excellent example. How could he dare not write [the master's] inscription? He wished to have these words printed on yellow silk and to erect a funerary stele so as [to preserve his memory] in an imperishable manner so that it shines like the traces of the red-bearded [Buddhayaśas] and be preserved for a long time through successive generations. Therefore he ordered me, an insignificant scholar, to examine and evaluate the outstanding achievements [of the master]. But for me, the king's subject, having only scant abilities, this was like comparing the puddle [of the trail] of an ox with the profound ocean. I erroneously complied with the king's order, as I could not find any further excuse to decline. I drew up [information about] his style [i.e., teachings] and recorded his virtue. Although my mind is resolute and not a stone [that can be rolled about],[35] I am superficial in

35 *Shijing* 詩經 *Book of Poetry*:

《柏舟》

我心匪石、不可轉也.

我心匪席、不可卷也.

威儀棣棣、不可選也.

learning and obtuse in talent. I am ashamed of myself for having no money in my hands. As I suddenly am [expected] to compose a literary piece, I shall put all my efforts in doing so. I respectfully composed the inscription as follows:

妙法奚自,
能仁所宣,
西乾首出,
東震臚傳.
諦分眞俗,
理應機緣,
導迷歸正,
憑實假權.[其一]

Where does the sublime Dharma come from? It was expounded by Śākyamuni.
It first appeared in India [in the West] and was [then] transmitted to China [in the East].
As the truth is differentiated into ultimate and secular, its principle ought to be explained according to the faculties and conditions [of sentients beings].
To guide the deluded [sentient beings] back to the correct [Dharma], one relies on the real and only temporarily on the provisional.

大教旣周,
群生胥悅.
惠日流光,
岸谷皆徹.

My mind is not a stone;
It cannot be rolled about.
My mind is not a mat;
It cannot be rolled up.
My deportment has been dignified and good;
It cannot be totaled up.

慈雲灑潤,
蒿蘭不別.
去聖逾遙,
遺風欲絶.[其二]

The great teaching already has been exposed far and wide. Sentient beings are all rejoicing.
The sun of wisdom spreads brightness [everywhere], sea shores and mountain valleys are all thoroughly [illuminated].
The cloud of compassion sprinkles its moisture, not differentiating between mugwort and orchids.
The late saint [i.e., the Buddha] is further away. The style he left behind is about to become extinct.

其誰紹者.
唯我尸之.
誕鍾赤氣,
端噚明時.
辭親割愛,
捨素從緇.
釋林廿鳳,
靈囿蓍龜.[其三]

Who is the one to inherit it [i.e., the Buddha's teaching]? Only our [master] manages it.
He was born having gathered vigorous energy [i.e., merit during his previous existences], uprightly meeting a bright era [i.e., being born in a bright period].
He took leave from his parents and cut off craving, abandoning his secular [lit. white] clothes and donning the monastic [lit. black] robe.
He was a towering phoenix in the Śākyamuni's forest [i.e., the monastic community], he was a milfoil turtle [for divination] in the numinous garden.

懇發菩提,
口修般若.
內究空宗,
外工儒雅.
品匪地前,
譽魁天下,
福智相嚴,
比倫盖寡.[其四]

He earnestly produced the bodhicitta [i.e., thought of awakening]. Through his mouth he cultivated wisdom [lit. prajñā].
Inwardly he thoroughly investigated the teaching of emptiness [i.e., Buddhism]. Outwardly he studied the refined teaching of Confucianism.
The stage of his [bodhisattva] practice was no longer that of a earthly level [i.e., he had already reached an advanced celestial stage].
His eulogy was first-rate under heaven, his merit and wisdom had a majestic appearance. Few were those that could be compared with him.

戒賢再出,
無着重生.
德瓶恒滿,
心鑑轉明.
桑門錬行,
藥闥馳聲.
瑶皇請益,
寶世飛榮.[其五]

He was like the second manifestation of Śīlabhadra, the rebirth of Asaṅga. The bottle of his virtue was always full. The mirror of his mind became even more lucid.
The śramaṇas refined their practice [following his example], his fame rapidly reached the gates of the royal palace.
The king [lit. jade emperor] requested his instruction. The fame of [his]

monastery [lit. "treasure-world"] flourished.

爲万乘師,
合諸天道.
普祐邦家,
永堅懷抱.
崢歲阽危,
圜封告老.
廬阜于歸,
高年是禱.[其六]

He became the preceptor of the king [lit. a myriad vehicles], conforming to all divine paths [i.e., the heavenly realms of the gods].
Universally assisting the state, perpetually and resolutely he cherished [its people].
In those perilous years and dangerous times, everything was on the verge of collapse. Confined in the precincts [of the royal palace], he retired due to age.
Having retired to [his mountain temple which was like] Lu-shan, his old age he spent in prayers.

身雖不漏,
命也云亡,
醍醐輟味,
薝蔔歇香,
筌宰茹歎,
暗斷肺腸,
黎夷軫慟,
如喪爺孃.[其七]

Although his body was free from the outflows [of defilements], his life-span heralded his demise.
The clarified butter lost its taste, the fragrance of jasmine flowers subsided.

The king and ministers harbored grief, gloomily [in private] like tearing up one's flesh and intestines [i.e., heartbroken].
The common people were also afflicted with deep sorrow, like that of mourning the loss of one's parents.

吁哲弟之蜂屯,
感遺言而孺慕.
甄北沒之先芬,
勒南刊而後諭.
儻海塞以河堙,
或人新而代故.
庶淑德與雄名,
亘將來而有裕. [其八]

The lament of his wise disciples [sounded like] a hive of bees. Their feelings for his bequeathed words were like a child admiring [his mother].
Discerning the ancestral fragrance [i.e., virtue] of his passing away [facing] north, they erected his stele [facing] south so as to instruct future generations.
If one [tries] to confine the ocean by blocking the river, someone new shall replace the late [master].
His numerous pure virtues and illustrious reputation shall extend to the future with abundance.

秘書省, 陪戎校尉, 臣, 李英輔, 大匠□, 張子春等, 奉宣, 刻字.

Characters carved in compliance with royal order by the subject Yi Yŏngbo, Department of the Palace Library[36] and Commandant Tending the Western Frontier,[37] and by the chief stone-cutter Chang Cha-ch'un.

[36] Hucker 4598

[37] Hucker 4554

裏面 Reverse side/ Reverse inscription.

故法泉寺主, 智光國師, 碑銘陰記, 如左.

The record on the reverse side of the stele inscription of the former abbot of Pŏpch'ŏn-sa and State Preceptor Chi'gwang is as follows:

玄化寺主僧統, 韶顯, 俗離寺主, 王子僧統, 釋竀,
首座慶玄, 三重大師, 釋重,
重大師, 灌雲, 弘諦, 占穎, 融保, 嵩幹, 繼相, 僧鎧, 眞召,
尙賢, 承覺, 同壽, 祐翔, 雙炤, 秀穎, 釋稱, 定神, 覺明, 冠僧,
元晵, 右賢, 詵如, 釋翔, 覺支, 尙之, 釋雲, 邦蘭, 甫賢, 釋琳,
證祥, 釋因, 稟宗, 祐承, 眞領, 眞鑑, 世梁等, 一百三人,
大師, 賢盖, 忠晵等, 一十七人,
大德, 定支, 眞保等, 二十二人, 受教繼業者也.
石□□, 僧錄, 先亮, 重大師, 玄占, 慧宗, 梁濟, 廣碩, 慶忠,
念忠, 心月, 應諝, 敏成, 慶調, 元崇, 元釋等, 二十八人,
大師, 義雲, 釋升, 爲顥等, 二十三人, 大悳, 崇器, 暹月, 弘學,
均善等, 二十五人, 隨職加階者也.
重職, 惠燈, 弘範等, 一千一百餘人, 慕德歸化者也.
首座, 釋虬, 法靈,
三重大師, 占先, 爲現, 宋光,
重大師, 昇炤, 成現, 繼言, 安銳, 道生, 講雲, 利眞,
大師, 暹現, 周現, 神暢, 貫成, 大德, 周蘭, 秀岊, 單職, 眞晵等, 五十二人, 先後師而沒世者也.

Abbot of Hyŏnhwa-sa and Superintendent of Monks Sohyŏn,
Abbot of Songni-sa, Prince, and Superintendent of Monks Sŏggyu,
Chief seat Kyŏnghyŏn,
Triply Exalted Great Master Sŏk [one character missing],
Exalted Great Masters: Kwan'un, Hongch'e, Chŏm'yŏng, Yungbo, Sunggan, Kyesang, Sŭnggae, Chinso, Sanghyŏn, Sŭnggak, Tongsu, Usang, Ssangso, Suyŏng, Sŏkch'ing, Chŏngsin, Kakmyŏng, Kwansŭng, Wŏnyak,

Uhyŏn, Ch'ŏnggwang, Chŏng'yŏ, Sŏksang, Kakji, Sangji, Sŏk'un, Pangnan, Pohyŏn, Sŏngnim, Chŭngsang, Sŏk'in, P'umjong[?], Usŭng, Chillyŏng, Chin'gam, Seryang, and others, a total of one hundred and three monks.

Great Masters: Hyŏn'gae, Ch'ung*, and others, a total of seventeen monks.

Great Virtuoso: Chŏngji, Chinbo, and others, a total of twenty-two monks.

These [monks where those who] received [the master's] teaching and continued his work.

[Three characters missing]: the Monk Registrar Sŏllyang, and the Exalted Masters Hyŏnjŏm, Hyejong, Yangje, Kwangsŏk, Kyŏngch'ung, Yŏmch'ung, Simwŏl, Ŭngsŏ, Minsŏng, Kyŏngjo, Wŏnsung, Wŏnsŏk, and others, a total of twenty-eight monks.

The Great Masters, Ŭi'un, Sŏksŭng, Wiho, and others, a total of twenty-three monks.

The Great Virtuoso Sunggi, Sŏmwŏl, Hong'ak, Kyunsŏn, and others, a total of twenty-five monks.

These [monks] have been granted Dharma ranks according to the offices they held.

Chungjik, Hyedŭng, Hongbŏm, and others, a total of over one thousand and one hundred monks, were those who had admired his virtue and converted [to the master; ie., those who subsequently became his disciples].

Chief Seats: Sŏk*, Pŏmnyŏng.

Triply Exalted Great Masters: Chŏmsŏn, Wihyŏn, Songgwang.

Exalted Great Masters: Sŭngso, Sŏnghyŏn, Kye'ŏn, An'ye, Tosaeng, Kang'un, Ijin.

Great Masters: Sŏmhyŏn, Chuhyŏn, Sinch'ang, Kwansŏng.

Great Virtuoso: Churan, Su*, Tan*, Chin*, and others, a total of fifty-two monks.

These were those who passed away prior to –or [shortly] after– the master.

右件門徒, 開座職名, 彫錄施行,

The aforementioned disciples have been recorded according to their positions and incumbent assignments.

承奉郎, 尙書都官郎中, 賜緋魚袋, 臣, 安民厚, □□,
大安元年, 歲在乙丑, 仲秋月日, 樹,
臣, 李英輔, 臣, 張子□□.

The subject An Min-hu Gentleman for Attendance, Minister and Director of the Criminal Administration Bureau, and Recipient of the Crimson Fish-Pouch.

Erected on a day of the eighth month in the second year of the sexagenary cycle and the first year of the Da'an era [1085].

The subject Yi Yŏng-po and the subject Chang Cha-ch'un.

VIII

STELE INSCRIPTION OF TAEGAK ŬICH'ŎN (開城 靈通寺 大覺國師碑文)

8. Stele Inscription of Taegak Ŭich'ŏn

開城 靈通寺 大覺國師碑文

Stele inscription of National Preceptor Taegak at Yŏngt'ong-sa in Kaesŏng

贈諡大覺國師, 碑銘.[題額]
高麗國, 五冠山, 大華嚴靈通寺, 贈諡大覺國師, 碑銘, 竝序.

Stele Inscription of the National Preceptor posthumously titled Taegak. (Written on the tablet). Stele Inscription and Preface of the National Preceptor posthumously titled Taegak, at the Great Hwaŏm [temple of] Yŏngt'ong-sa on Ogwan-san, Koryŏ country.

金紫光祿大夫, 檢校太尉, 守司徒, 中書侍郎, 同中書門下平章事, 判尚書禮部事, 修國史, 上柱國, 臣, 金富軾, 奉宣, 撰.
朝散郎, 尙書, 工部侍郎, 賜紫金魚袋, 臣, 吳彦侯, 奉宣書, 竝篆額.

Compiled in compliance with royal order by the subject *Kim Pu-sik*,[1] Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon, Proofreader, Assistant Defender-in-chief, Acting Minister of Education, Vice Director of the Secretariat-Chancellery, Manager of Affairs [or Grand Councillor], Chief Minister, Commissioner of the Ministry of Rites, Chief Compiler of the Dynastic History, and Supreme Pillar of State. Written out

[1] Kim Pu-sik (1075–1151) was an eminent scholar-official in the Koryŏ period. He is best known for compiling the *Samguk Sagi*, the oldest extant record of Korean history.

in compliance with royal order, together with a heading in seal script, by the subject O Ŏn-su, Gentleman for Closing Court, Minister, Vice Director of the Ministry of Works, and Recipient of the Purple-and-Gold Fish-Pouch.

上, 嗣位之四年乙巳, 秋七月庚午, 大覺國師門人, 都僧統, 澄儼等, 具師之行事, 以聞曰, "吾先師, 卽世久矣, 而碑銘未著, 常懼其德業, 有所磨滅而不記, 惟上哀憐之, 使之裒撰以示久遠."

On the kyŏng'o day of the seventh month in autumn of the forty-second year of the sexagenary cycle, the fourth year since the king [Injong] succeeded to the throne [1126], the tablet heading written in seal script [was provided]. The disciple of the State Preceptor Taegak [Ŭichŏn], the metropolitan controller of monks Ching'ŏm and others provided the master's account of conduct, making it known to the king that, "It has been a long time since our former master [has departed] from the world. Yet his stele inscription has yet to be made. We constantly fear that his virtuous deeds be effaced [from memory] if they are not recorded. We only [hope] that his majesty the king sympathises and has [an inscription] collected and compiled in order to show it [to future generations] for all eternity."

上曰, "嗚呼, 師於余爲從祖, 而遺功餘烈, 炳然可觀, 其可盖而不章乎." 遂授臣富軾以行狀曰, "汝其銘之." 臣讓不獲命, 退而叙曰, 以臣觀之, 師於聖人之道, 可謂性得而生知者也. 何以知其然哉, 自少知學不爲紛華盛麗之所移.

The king said, "Alas! The master happened to be my grand-uncle. The legacy of his achievements [meritorious deeds] shines brightly. Being so remarkable, there is no one who possibly could cover it up and not be impressed by it." Thereupon he gave me, his subject Pu-sik, [the master's] account of conduct and said, "You shall write the stele inscription [based on this]." As I could not decline the order, I retired and composed the inscription, saying "According to my observation, the master abided in the path of the saints. One can say that his nature was endowed with an inborn knowledge. How can I know that? Because since he was young, he had [a

predilection for seeking] knowledge and he did not [seek] the entanglements of fame and the grandeur of luxury.

及其出家, 當道衰學廢之時, 獨能背馳於時態, 追古聖賢而祖述之. 不幸短命, 而其所樹立如此. 子思有言, '自誠而明者', 其是類乎.

And concerning his leaving the household [to become a monk], he faced a time when [the practice of] the path was in decline and cultivation [of the path] was neglected. He alone was able to go against that state of affairs by following [the path of] the ancient saints and sages by handing their teaching down. Unfortunately, he was short-lived, but the feat he accomplished was [great] like this. He belonged to the category of individuals described by Zi Si[2] as "a person emitting the radiance of his own utter sincerity."

師諱釋煦, 俗姓王氏, 字義天, 後以名犯哲宗諱, 以字行. 我太祖大王四世孫, 而文宗王第四子也. 母仁睿太后李氏, 夜夢, 若有龍入懷, 而有身焉. 至乙未秋九月二十八日生, 於宮中. 時有香氣, 郁然久而後歇. 師少超悟, 讀書屬辭精敏若宿習. 兄弟皆有賢行, 而師傑然出鋒穎.

The master's taboo name was Sŏkhu, his secular surname was Wang. His courtesy name was Ŭich'ŏn. Later, as his name happened to be identical to the taboo name of [the Song Emperor] Zhezong, his courtesy name was used instead. He was the fourth generation descendant of our Great King T'aejo [Wang Kŏn] and the fourth son of King Munjong. His mother, the queen dowager In'ye from the Yi clan, [once] dreamt at night that a dragon entered her bosom and that she was pregnant due to this. On the twenty-eight day of the ninth month in autumn of the thirty-second year of the sexagenary cycle [1055], he was born in the palace. At that time, there was

2 Zi Si 子思 (ca. 481–402 BCE), was the only grandson of Confucius. He supposedly taught Mencius and wrote the *Doctrine of the Mean.*

a fragrance [in the palace] that persisted for a long time before dissipating later on. At a young age the master had an excellent understanding. In reading texts and elucidating passages, he was proficient and perceptive as if he had learnt this in past lives. His elder and younger brothers were all of wise conduct, but the master's sharp intelligence excelled [them] all.

上一日, 謂諸子曰,"孰能爲僧作福田, 爲利益乎." 師起曰,"臣有出世志, 惟上所使", 上曰,"善." 母后以前夢貴徵, 竊惜之而業己, 受君命, 叵如之何.

One day, the king [Munjong] said to all his sons, "Who [among you] is able to become a monk and act as a field of merit for the benefit [of the whole country and its people]? The master rose up and said, "I, your subject, have the intention to leave the world. I merely wish that his Highness the King has me do that." The king said, "Good." His mother, the queen dowager, [viewed this as confirmation] of the precious sign of her earlier dream, but she secretly felt sorrow about [his son's decision] and [hoped] that upon having finished his studies, he would accept his father's order, yet how could she not accept [his decision]?

乙巳五月十四日, 徵景德國師於內殿, 剃髮. 上再拜之, 許隨師出, 居靈通寺. 冬十月, 就佛日寺戒壇受具, 時春秋 十一歲. 而學問不息. 己能成人, 嘗夢人傳澄觀法師書, 自是, 慧解日進.

On the fourteenth day of the fifth month in the forty-second year of the sexagenary cycle [1065], the National Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk was summoned into the inner palace, where he tonsured [Ŭichŏn]. [On that occasion,] the king [Munjong] bowed twice to him [i.e., Kyŏngdŏk] and granted permission [to Ŭichŏn] to leave the household and follow his teacher [Kyŏngdŏk], and to reside at Yŏngt'ong-sa. In the tenth month, in winter, he went to Puril-sa where he received the full precepts at the ordination platform. At that time he was eleven years old. And [thereupon] he pursued his studies without respite. After having become an adult, he dreamt that a person transmitted to him the text by Dharma-master Chengguan [i.e.,

Chengguan's commentary on the *Huayan jing*]. From this time on his wisdom and understanding progressed daily.

至年甫壯, 益自勤苦, 早夜矻矻, 務博覽强記. 而無常師, 道之所存, 則從而學之. 自賢首教觀, 及頓漸大小乘經律論章疏, 無不探索. 又餘力外學, 見聞淵博, 自仲尼老聃之書, 子史集錄, 百家之說, 亦嘗玩其菁華, 而尋其根柢, 故議論縱横馳騁, 滾滾無津涯. 雖老師宿德, 皆自以爲不及. 聲名流聞, 時謂法門有宗匠矣.

As he reached the prime of his life, he practiced austerities even more diligently. From early morning till late at night, he assiduously devoted himself to reading extensively and forced himself to memorize [what he had read]. Yet he did not have a permanent teacher. If there was someone whose [accomplishment of] the path [was noteworthy], he would attend on him and learn from him. He investigated all the texts from Xianshou's [Fazang] [categorization of] the teachings up to the sudden and gradual teachings [of Sŏn], Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, and the commentaries on the sūtras, vinaya, and abhidharma. Furthermore, he used his spare energy on the external branches of learning [i.e., non-Buddhist fields], achieving profound erudition and knowledge of them. He also appreciated the quintessence of and sought the bases of texts from the books of Zhongni [i.e., Confucius] and Lao Dan [i.e., Laozi], to the collected records of the historians and the theories of the hundred [ancient] philosophers. Therefore he [was so conversant as to] discuss them in length and breadth, fluently like a [ocean] without shores. Although his old teacher and [other] elderly monks all themselves acknowledged that they could not reach his level [of erudition], the fame of his name spread to everybody's ears, and at that time he was called [referred to as] the Great Master of the Dharma gate [i.e., of Buddhism].

丁未七月乙酉, 教書, 褒爲祐世僧統. 師嘗有志, 如宋問道, 聞晋水淨源法師, 以慧行爲學者. 師託舶買, 致書以修禮. 源公知師非常人, 卽復書相招. 由是欲往滋甚.

On the ŭryu day of the seventh month in the forty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle [1067], [the king published] a directive praising

him and [bestowing upon him] the [office of] Helper of the World and Superintendent of Monks. The master had since early on the intention to go to Song China and inquire about the path. He had heard that the Dharma master Jingyuan in Jinshui was a scholar endowed with wisdom and practice. The master entrusted a merchant ship to send him a letter in accordance with proper etiquette. Venerable Jingyuan [upon having received his letter] knew that the master was not an ordinary person and promptly wrote him a reply inviting him to meet. Because of this [Ŭich'ŏn's] wish to go [to China] became even greater.

至宣王, 在位第二年, 是宋元豊七年春正月, 入內誠請. 上, 會群臣議, 皆以爲不可. 師於上前, 與群臣言, "聖賢, 忘軀慕道, 如玄奘往西域, 義想入中國, 苟安安而不務求師. 非所以出家本意." 其言懇切, 繼之以泣.

Then, in the second year since King Sŏnjong's ascendancy to the throne [1085], in the first month in spring of the seventh year of the Yuanfeng era in the Song [1084], he went into the palace sincerely requesting [permission to travel to China]. The king gathered the entire body of his ministers and discussed the matter, and all of them reached the conclusion that it was not possible. The master [then] went in front of the king and all ministers, and said, "The saints and sages were oblivious of their bodies and admired the path, like Xuanzang who traveled to the Western Regions or Ŭisang who went to China. If I should [merely] be content with being at ease and not strive to seek a master, this does not correspond to the original meaning of leaving the household [and becoming a monk]." His words were of the utmost sincerity, and he shed tears as he continued speaking.

上感激意許之, 而群臣議確, 依違而罷. 至明年四月庚午, 夜留書上王, 及太后, 率弟子壽介, 微服, 至貞州, 寓商客舩發. 上聞之, 驚差遣官僚與弟子, 樂眞, 慧宣, 道隣, 從之.

The king was extremely moved and in his mind granted him the permission, but the resolution of the ministers was firm, and the discussion

ended with the king agreeing with his ministers. On the night of the kyŏngho day of the fourth month in the following year [1085], he left a letter addressed to the king and the queen dowager, and taking his disciple Sugae with him, he went in disguise to Chŏngju, where he came across a merchant ship about to leave [for China]. The king, hearing of this, was suprised and dispatched officials together with his disciples Nakchin, Hyesŏn, and Torim to attend on them [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn and Sugae].

五月甲午, 至大宋板橋鎭. 知密州朝奉郎, 范鍔, 迎勞卽附表, 具陳所以來朝之意. 皇帝命主客員外郎, 蘇注廷導之.

On the kap'o day in the fifth month, they reached Panqiao Zhen [Fortress] in the Great Song [Empire]. Fan E, the Administrative Clerk of Mizhou and Gentleman for Court Service, welcomed them and promptly sent a letter to the emperor, providing a full account of the purpose of [Ŭich'ŏn and his entourage's] coming to China. The emperor ordered the Vice Director of the Ministry of Receptions, Su Zhuting, to guide them.

秋七月, 入京師啓聖寺. 以中書舍人, 范百祿, 爲主, 數日見垂拱殿待以客禮, 寵數渥縟. 明日表乞, 承師受業, 優詔從之. 遂見華嚴有誠法師.

In the seventh month, in autumn, they entered into the [Song] capital [Bianjing and went to] Qisheng-si. Under the direction of the Secretariat Drafter Fan Bailu, they waited several days for an audience [with Emperor Zhezong, upon which they were received] in the Chuigong ["Ruling in Peace"] Hall [of the imperial palace], where they performed the rite of visitors [to the Imperial throne] and were bestowed with several copious and elaborate gifts [of clothes and brocade]. The following day they submitted a letter begging to be granted a teacher for receiving instruction. [The emperor] magnanimously ordered that [their plea] be obeyed. Finally he [Ŭich'ŏn, with his retinue] [was granted permission] to go to see the Huayan [school] Dharma master Youcheng.

先此, 皇帝, 聞僧統之來, 詔兩街預選高才碩學, 堪爲師範者, 兩街推薦誠師. 至是, 僧統摳衣下風, 欲行弟子之禮. 誠師 三辭而後受之.

Previously, the emperor was informed of the Superintendent of Monks' [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn] visit [to China], and had ordered the two divisions [lit. "two streets," the superintendents of monks] to preselect [monks of] high capacity and great erudition who were capable of serving as [Ŭich'ŏn's] teacher. The [monks of the] "two streets" [thus] recommended master Youcheng. Thus the Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn] [performed the rite of] adjusting his robe [requesting for instruction] at the feet of [Youcheng], wishing to perform the rite of becoming his disciple. Master Youcheng accepted him after having declined three times.

乃進曰, "某甲, 海外之鄙人也, 虛襟求道之日, 又未有所得, 願師慈憫, 開我迷雲." 答, "古佛刳心而爲法, 至有求一文一句, 而捨轉輪王位, 今上人能行之, 可謂難矣." "願同志一乘, 同修萬行, 以遊華藏海者, 吾之願也." 於是, 僧統請問云云. 師嘆曰, "辭旨婉切, 善啓重關, 非法王之眞子, 卽義想之後身." 復承朝旨, 與主客員外郎楊傑, 出京師, 沿汴達淮泗, 浸尋以至餘杭, 詣大中祥符寺, 謁源公, 如見誠公之禮, 源公, 儼然而坐.

Thereupon [Ŭich'ŏn's] addressed him, saying "I am a vulgar person from overseas. [From the day] I emptied my mind and sought the path, there were things that I had yet to understand. I wish that you, master, with compassion and pity, open my [mind] and [dispell] the clouds of [my] confusion." [Youcheng] answered, "The ancient buddhas cleansed their minds to [seek] the Dharma. They even abandoned the throne of the wheel-turning king [cakravartin] to find a single phrase or a single word. Now you, your eminence, are capable of practising doing so, which can be [indeed] be referred to as a difficult [feat]!" [Ŭich'ŏn replied,] "I wish to have the same aspiration [as you] [to practice] the One Vehicle and together cultivate the manifold supplementary practices and journey into the ocean of the [Lotus] Flower Repository World. This is my wish!" Thereupon the Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn] [respectfully] submitted a series of questions. The

master [Youcheng] exclaimed [in admiration], "The meaning of your words is beautiful and sincere. You aptly opened up the series of barriers [leading to the profound meaning of Chan]. If you are not the genuine son of the Dharma King, you must indeed be the reincarnation of Ŭisang!" Again, obeying a decree of the [imperial] court, together with the Vice Director of the Ministry of Receptions Yang Jie, he left the capital city, traveling along the Bian and reaching the Huai and Si Region, where he gradually arrived in Yuhang County, where he arrived at Dazhong Xiangfu-si, where he visited the Venerable Jingyuan. He performed the [same] rites as he did when he had met Venerable Youcheng. Venerable Jingyuan sat in a solemn posture.

> 僧統進曰, "某甲, 仰慕道誼, 以日爲歲, 不憚險難, 百舍來謁, 願開金口玉音, 以來覺悟." 源公曰, "昔慧思, 一見智顗, 卽知靈山之舊, 今僧統之來, 焉知非夙緣耶, 不須膝行爲禮, 請講以所聞." 於是, 誠投道應, 如芥就鍼. 有問有答, 盡其春容.

The Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn] addressed him, saying, "I admire [your] discussion of the path. A day [felt] like a year [as I was eager to study the path with you]. I did not dread dangers and difficulties, and abandoned everything to come to see you. I wish that you open your golden mouth and [emit] sounds of jade, so that I become awakened." Venerable Jingyuan said, "In the past, when Huisi went to see Zhiyi, Zhiyi knew at a glance that Huisi was his old acquaintance he met on Vulture Peak.[3] Now with your arrival, how could I not know that this is a karmic connection from a previous existence? You do not need to perform to rite of crawling on your knees, but do request me to lecture you about whatever you want to hear." Thereupon, he sincerely submitted and the path responded, just like a mustard seed landing on the top of a needle.[4] For every question he had an answer, just like the sound of a bell when struck.

3 Lit. Spirit Vulture Peak, *Gṛdhrakūṭa*

4 I.e., a Buddha appears as rarely as a mustard seed thrown in the air from afar hits a needle point.

源公, 因知州蒲公宗孟之請, 入南山慧因院, 開講周譯經. 僧統, 施錢營齋, 以延學徒甚衆. 源公, 於前所居三處, 各置賢首敎藏, 竝祖師像, 至此, 又欲辦焉而未能. 楊公, 知其意, 與知州及諸僚, 力營之. 僧統, 亦捨銀置敎藏七千五百餘卷. 及還國, 又以金書大經三本歸之, 以祝聖壽. 慧因, 本禪院, 改爲講院, 特免租稅, 朝廷, 爲僧統故也. 會國王, 上表乞令歸國. 遂詔趣赴京, 請源公同舟, 講學不輟.

On the invitation of the Prefect, the duke Pu Zongmeng, the Venerable Jingyuan entered into Huiyin-yuan on Nan-shan and began to lecture on the [*Huayan*] *Sūtra* translated during the Zhou [reign of Empress Wu Zetian]. The Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn] offered money to provide for the vegetarian feast and [so] a very large number of monks [lit. students] were invited to attend. Venerable Jingyuan, in each of the three places where he had lived, installed the collection of Xianshou [Fazang]'s teachings together with the patriarch's [i.e., Xianshou's] portrait. Now, he wished to do so again, but was not able to do so. Sir Yang Jie, knowing his intention, made efforts to accomplish this with the collaboration of the Prefect [Pu Zongmeng] and other officials. The Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn] also donated silver to enshrine the Sūtra Tripiṭaka [i.e., the Doctrinal basket, consisting] of over seven thousand and five hundred fascicles. And after his return to his [own] country [i.e., Koryŏ], he also sent three copies of the *Huayan Sūtra* written in gold to pray for the emperor's longevity. Huiyin-yuan was originally a Chan monastery which was changed into a Doctrinal monastery and specially exempted from taxes and levies. This was possible because the royal court [of Koryŏ] had [provided the money] for the Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn]. On that occasion, the king [Sŏnjŏng] submitted a letter [to emperor Zhezong] begging that he allow [Ŭich'ŏn] to return to his country [of Koryŏ]. [The emperor] then ordered [Ŭich'ŏn] to come to the capital and [Ŭich'ŏn] requested Venerable Jingyuan to come [along] on the same boat, [so that] he could lecture without suspension.

以元祐元年, 後二月十三日, 入京再見, 淹五日, 朝辭, 至秀州眞如寺, 見楞嚴疏主, 塔亭傾圮, 慨然歎之, 以金屬寺僧修葺. 楊公曰, "璿公, 今日始遇知音." 吳興章衡, 記其事云, "僧統, 可謂篤厚好學君子矣."

On the thirteenth day of the second month in the first year of the Yuanyou era [1086], [Ŭich'ŏn] entered into the capital and met again [with the emperor]. After dwelling there for five days, he departed from court and arrived at Zhenru-si in Xiuzhou, where he saw the collapsed stūpa pavilion of the Lord of the Commentaries on the *Lengyan jing* [the Chan master Changshui Zixuan][5] and indignantly lamented it. He donated gold to the monks affiliated with that monastery to restore it. Sir Yang Jie said, "Venerable Zixuan has today met for the first time with a close friend." Zhang Heng of Wuxing recorded this matter, saying, "The Superintendent of Monks [Ŭich'ŏn] can be truly said to be a gentleman of sincere generosity with a penchant for scholarship."

夏四月, 復入慧因院, 源公, 傳道訖, 正坐焚香云, "願僧統歸, 廣作佛事, 傳一燈, 使百千燈, 相續而無窮." 遂授經書爐拂, 以爲信, 非特僧統資源公, 而道益進. 源公名所以益高, 以僧統揚之也. 禮辭源公, 行至天台, 登定光佛隴, 觀智者塔, 親筆願文, 禮於塔前. 誓傳教于東土, 楊公志之, 沙門中立, 立石.

In the fourth month of that summer, he again went to Huiyin-yuan, [where] the Venerable [master] Jingyuan, having [just] delivered a sermon, was sitting upright and burning incense. [Jingyuan] said, "I wish that you, Superintendent of Monks, go back [to Koryŏ] and extensively perform Buddhist services, and that by transmitting [the flame] of one lamp, you have it light hundreds of thousands of lamps, which succeed each other without end." Thereupon he [Jingyuan] gave him scriptures [lit., sūtras and classics], a censer, and a whisk as a token of his confidence. This was not only for [the sake of] the Superintendent of Monks, but also for the benefit of Venerable Jingyuan [himself], so that the path be increasingly promoted. That the fame of Venerable Jingyuan improved was due to the praises by the

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5 Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 was a Huayan scholar-monk in Song China. He first specialized in the *Śūraṃgama Sūtra* and subsequently practiced with the Chan master Huixue 慧覺 of Langye-shan 瑯琊山, where he achieved awakening. Finally, he concentrated on the Huayan teachings of Xianshou 賢首.

Superintendent of Monks. [Ŭich'ŏn] bowed and took leave from Venerable Jingyuan, journeyed to [Mount] Tiantai, where he ascended to the hill of Dingguang Fo, where he contemplated the stūpa of Zhizhe [i.e., Zhiyi] and personally wrote the text of his vow [to spread Tiantai doctrine in Koryŏ], performed prostrations in front of [Zhiyi's] stūpa, and pledged to spread [Tiantai] doctrine in the Eastern Country [of Koryŏ]. Sir Yang Jie recorded this and the monk [lit. *śramaṇa*] Zhongli erected a [memorial] stele.

始自密至京, 以及吳越, 往來, 凡十有四月. 所至名山勝境, 諸有聖跡, 無不瞻禮. 所遇高僧, 五十餘人, 亦皆咨問法要. 若源公, 雅所望, 以爲五十. [五十字缺], 慧林, 善淵, 戒律則擇基元照, 梵學則天吉祥, 紹德, 此皆卓然可尙故, 資其所長者, 已及將歸, 禪講宗師, 各率徒衆,[四八字缺].

Ever since he had secretly arrived in the capital and reached Wuyue, he had traveled back and forth for a total of fourteen months. Whichever famous mountain and scenic spot he came to, if there were traces of saints, he reverenced and performed prostrations to them all. He also met over fifty eminent monks whom he also questioned about the essentials of the Dharma. He spent fifty[-nine] days with Venerable *Jingyuan* … [50 Chinese characters are lacking here] … Huilin and Shanyuan … about the precepts and rules of conduct [lit., śīla and vinaya] [he asked the monks] Zeji and Yuanzhao, on Sanskrit studies, [he asked the monks] Tian Jixiang and Shaode. Because all these [monks] were outstanding and worth of respect, they helped him to improve [his knowledge], and already had become models, as masters of doctrine in Chan and Scholastic doctrine, each of them leading groups of disciples [48 characters missing]

學之悉備, 此眞重法大菩薩者也. 然非是始學, 欲以己所得, 與諸師相試故來耳. 故其所贈詩, '有孰若祐世師.' [五十九字缺].

He [Ŭich'ŏn] studied it and acquired [proficiency] in all [of these doctrines]. This truly was [a feat of a] great bodhisattva [mastering] multiple branches of the Dharma. But he was not a beginning student [neophyte]; he

merely came [to Song China] because he wished to test his own [previously] acquired understanding with that of several teachers. Therefore [in] the poem he was given [previous to his return to Koryŏ], [these teachers said] "Who [else] is like the master 'Helper of the World'? [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn]? [Fifty nine characters missing].

三韓王子西求法,"鑿齒彌天兩勍敵, 其爲時賢推尊." 類皆然也. 夏五月二十日, 遂本國朝賀回使, 放洋二十九日, [四十八字缺], 上及左右, 無不感動. 皇帝所贈金繒, 國王太后, 寄送財寶, 以巨萬計. 擧施諸道場, 及所聞法諸師, 無少 [五十一字缺].

When the prince of the three Han came seeking the Dharma in the West [i.e., China], it was just like the rivalry between Xi Zaochi and Mitian Daoan, and he [Ŭich'ŏn] was extolled by the sages of the time. Then, on the twentieth day of the fifth month of summer, he returned [to Koryŏ] with a congratulatory embassy to the imperial court from his country, on a ship crossing the sea, and on the twenty-ninth day [forty-eight characters missing], the king and the [ministers of] the Left and the Right were all [deeply] moved. The emperor [of the Song] gave him a gift of [silk] with golden thread, the empress dowager sent him money and treasures that were counted in myriads. He offered these as donations to the several monasteries [lit. bodhimanda] and to those masters whom he had requested for the exposition of the Dharma. Not few [of them] [fifty-one characters missing] …

師誕年, 肇基旣成. 多歷年, 國家每議其主, 而難其人, 至是宣演教理, 盡妙窮神, 學者海會, 得未曾有. 上及群臣, [四十八字缺], 急不講故, 官縢私褚, 亡散幾盡, 遂重購求書於中國, 以及契丹日本.

Since the year of the master's birth, his foundation had already been completed. Over many years, the state often discussed him as the leader [of monks], but there was criticism of his person. Then when he [Ŭich'ŏn] expounded the [Buddhist] doctrine, exhaustively and thoroughly elucidating the subtle spirit [of its essence], the scholars [i.e., erudite monks] gathered like the ocean, [an event] that never occurred before. The king and his

ministers [forty-eight characters missing] … not negligent in lecturing, ran through official funds and private money to repeatedly purchase writings from China, as well as from the Khitan [empire] and from Japan.

又於辛未春, 南遊搜索, 所得書, 無慮四千卷, 皆塵昏蟫斷, 編簡壞舛. 俱收竝拾, 包匭以歸, 請置教藏司於興王寺, 召名流, 校定謬缺, 使上之鉛槧, 不幾稔閒, 文籍大備, 學者忻賴.

Again, in the spring of the eighth year of the sexagenary cycle, he journeyed to the south [of Korea?] searching for [books] and the texts he obtained amounted approximately to four thousand fascicles. All of them were [covered by] dust, had faint [characters], and were worm-eaten [damaged by silverfish]. [Many of] the books' leaves were damaged and in disorder. He collected them all and put them in order, wrapping them in small boxes and returned with them [to the capital Kaegyŏng]. He requested that they be placed in the Office for Preserving the [Buddhist] teachings (kyojang sa) [established] at Hŭngwang-sa, where he summoned distinguished scholars [i.e., monks?] to proofread and correct mistakes and lacunae. He had [the king?] have them written out for a blockprint edition. Within the interval of a few years, books containing these texts were fully prepared, and the scholars happily relied on them.

甲戌春二月初, 入洪圓寺, 其教學如故. 居興王初, 順王寢病, 召師言, "寡人, 嘗願作大伽藍, 額號洪圓, 今病篤, 想不自濟, 若嗣君不相忘, 師其同心, 以終吾願." 師涕泣曰, "臣, 敢盡心力, 死生不易." 至於旣成, 乃命住持焉.

At the beginning of the second month in spring of the eleventh year of the sexagenary cycle (1094), he went to Hongwŏn-sa, where his doctrinal studies continued as before. In the early period of his stay at Hŭngwang-sa, King Sun[jong; i.e., his eldest brother][6] was lying in bed, his illness critical.

6 Sunjong (1047–1083) (r. 1083) was the eldest son of Munjong. He died within a year of his ascension in 1083.

He summoned the master [Ŭich'ŏn] and said, "I, the sovereign, once made the vow to build a large monastery and to provide it with the name plaque of Hongwŏn[-sa]. Now that my illness is critical, I think that I might not be able to complete [that project] by myself. If the presumptive heir [to the throne, ie., Sŏnjong] succeeds me, you should not forget [my wish], and be of the same mind [as me and collaborate with my successor] so that finally my vow [be fulfilled]." The master [Ŭich'ŏn] wept and said, "I shall devote all my mind and effort [to this], and not change [regardless of] life and death." Thereupon, when the monastery was completed, he was appointed as its abbot."

夏五月, 退居海印寺, 溪山自適. 浩然有終焉之志. 獻王再徵, 不能致.

In the fifth month of summer [1094], he retired [from his post and left the capital] for Haein-sa, where he lived in self-contentment [surrounded by] brooks and mountains. [There he lived] magnanimously, with the intention to end his days there. King Hŏnjong[7] twice requested him to return [to the capital], but he was not able to [motivate him to] return.

乙亥冬十月, 八日, 肅祖卽位, 數遣近臣, 齋書迎之, 固辭. 又教曰, "不穀之望, 師可謂切矣. 非高山景行, 寤寐增想, 而鶺鴒在原, 義重匪他. 雖不能往, 屢以誠請, 拂衣高跡, 曾不我顧. 古之達者, 非夷非惠, 與時卷舒, 冀或一來, 副我意焉." 師翻然曰, "備禮厚辭, 義不可拒." 乃赴都, 復居興王寺, 教學如初.

On the eight day of the tenth month of winter of the twelfth year of the sexagenary cycle, [Ŭich'ŏn's third brother] King Sukjong ascended the throne and repeatedly dispatched his close ministers to him bringing his personal letters welcoming him back [in the capital], but [Ŭich'ŏn] adamantly declined. [Then the king] again [sent] a directive which said, "My humble hope that you, master [Ŭich'ŏn], [return to the capital], indeed [becomes] more earnest. I have no other intentions [for requesting this] than [to venerate]

7 Hŏnjong (r. 1094–1095) was Sŏnjong's eldest son and Ŭich'ŏn's nephew.

your lofty moral integrity and noble character, as I increasingly think about you [with reverence] at all times [lit. whether I am asleep or awake], while [being motivated by my] veneration for the duty of brotherly love as symbolized by a wagtail, and not by something else. Even though I am not able to come [to see you in person], I frequently sincerely request the permission to leave [lit., to shake off my robe] and [join] your eminent presence [lit. lofty traces], but my plea has yet to be considered. The accomplished masters of the past were neither narrow-minded nor disrespectful [lit. neither like Boyi[8] nor like Hui of Liuxia[9]], but showed or hid themselves in accordance with the times. I hope that perhaps [you may deign] to come once, which would conform to my intention." The master quickly [replied] saying, "As these sincere words have been written with all courtesy and manners, I can not refuse my duty [towards the king]." Then he went to the capital and resumed his residence at Hŭngwang-sa, where he taught [Buddhist] doctrine as he had done previously.

> 丁丑夏五月, 住持國淸寺, 初講天台敎, 是敎, 舊已東漸, 而中廢. 師自問道於錢塘, 立盟於佛隴, 思有以振起之, 未曾一日忘於心. 仁睿太后, 聞而悅之, 經始此寺, 肅祖繼之, 以畢厥功. 師於此之時, 依文而顯理, 究理而盡心. 止觀圓明, 語默自在, 拔盡信書之守, 破惡取空之執, 一時學者, 瞻望聖涯, 捨舊而自來, 幾一千人. 盛矣哉, 世之議台宗者謂師, '百世不遷之宗, 渠不信哉.'

8 Boyi 伯夷 and his brother Shuqi 叔齊 were the sons of the ruler of Guzhu State. Traditionally, the succession to the rulership would have gone to Boyi because he was the oldest son. But, when Shuqi was preferred to succeed his father as a ruler, rather than engage in controversy, the two brothers fled to Zhou State. When the Zhou ruler died and his son succeeded him and proceeded to conquer Shang State, the brothers remonstrated him for going to war before having sufficiently mourned his recently deceased father. Boyi and Shuqi made their protest widely known through their refusal to eat the produce of Zhou. They retired to a mountain in the Shang and lived on ferns, until they were reminded that these plants too now belonged to Zhou, at which point they starved themselves to death.

9 Hui 惠 of Liuxia 柳下 is a popularized designation for Zhan Huo 展獲 (720–621 BCE). He was the governor of the District of Liuxia 柳下 in the Lu State and famous for being a man of eminent virtue and high moral character.

In the fifth month of summer in the fourteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1097], he [was appointed] abbot of Kukch'ŏng-sa, where for the first time he lectured on Tiantai doctrine. These teachings had in the past been introduced to the East [i.e., to the Eastern Country, Koryŏ], yet during the meantime had been eliminated. The master [Ŭich'ŏn] himself went to Qiantang to inquire about the path, and pledged at Folong [on Mount Tiantai] to promote the Tiantai doctrine back in Koryŏ] and maintained the thought of making it flourish. He did not forget this for a single day. Queen Mother In'ye rejoiced on hearing of this and began to restore this monastery [i.e., Kukch'ŏng-sa], and King Sukjong continued it, finally bringing it to completion. At this time, the master, relying on [Tiantai doctrinal] texts illuminated the principles [of Tiantai doctrine], devoting himself to investigating these principles. His calm and insight (*śamatha-vipaśyanā*) were perfectly clear and he freely used speech and silence to completely uproot the attachment to belief in texts and destroy the opinions that falsely grasp for emptiness.

Immediately, monks [lit. students; practitioners] reverentially looked upwards to his saintly shore, abandoning their former practices and came by themselves [i.e., out of their own conviction] [to Ŭich'ŏn], [resulting in] nearly one thousand people [gathering under his guidance]. How flourishing this was!

Those who in that age discussed the Tiantai teachings said to him, "This teaching will not change for all generations, how could one possibly not believe [and practice] it?"

戊寅夏四月庚寅, 上命第五子, 侍之, 師手落其髮, 今都僧統是也. 辛巳春二月, 上, 以洪圓寺九祖堂成, 請師重修而落之, 前世爲祖譜不一, 今以馬鳴, 龍樹, 天親, 佛陀, 光統, 帝心, 雲華, 賢首, 清凉, 爲九祖, 師所定也.

On the kyŏng'in day of the fourth month of summer in the fifteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1098], the king [Sukjong] ordered his fifth son to attend on [Ŭich'ŏn] and the master himself performed his tonsure. He [i.e., the monk Chingkil] is the present metropolitan controller of monks. In the second month of spring in the eighteenth year of the sexagenary

cycle [1101], the king [Sukjong], in order to complete the Hall of the Nine Patriarchs [of the Huayan school] at Hongwŏn-sa, requested the master to [supervise] its repair and completion. In previous ages there were differences over the genealogy of the patriarchs. Now the [succession of] nine [Huayan] patriarchs were settled by master [Ŭich'ŏn] as: Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Buddhabhadra, [Vinaya master] Guangtong [i.e., Huiguang], Dixin [i.e., Dushun], Yunhua [i.e., Zhiyan], [Fazang] Xianshou, and Qingliang [Chengguan].

秋八月, 遘疾隱几而坐, 或觀心, 或持經, 不以疲倦自止. 門人請修佛事, 曰 "事佛久矣." 上, 遣中使, 問體名醫處方, 俵寶衣名, 令於諸寺, 爲之請福疾革. 親來慰問曰, "恐有不可諱, 願聞其所欲言者."

In the eighth month, in autumn, [Ŭich'ŏn] fell ill and concealed [it] by sitting at a small table. He [spent his time] contemplating the mind or reciting the sūtras [lit. keeping the sūtras], without stopping because he was tired. When his disciples requested him to perform Buddha services, he said, "I have been serving the Buddha for a long time." The king dispatched a palace envoy to inquire about his bodily health and had famous [court] doctors prescribe him medicaments. [The king] announced the fame of his precious robe [i.e., informed people of Ŭich'ŏn's illness] and ordered all monasteries to [perform rituals for] requesting happiness and expelling illness [i.e., to pray for Ŭich'ŏn's healthy recovery]. The king himself came to console [the master], saying, "I fear that you are terminally ill and wish to hear whatever you may want to say."

曰, "所願重興正道, 而病奪其志, 伏望, 至誠外護, 以副如來遺教, 則死且不朽." 冬十月, 五日, 壬辰, 右脇而化, 享年, 四十七, 僧臘, 三十六.

[The master] said, "My wish is to resurrect the correct path, but my illness is robbing me of that aspiration. I humbly hope that [you], with the utmost sincerity, provide the outside protection [to Buddhism] and that you assist the teachings bequeathed by the Tathāgata, so that even though I

die [Buddhism] will not decay." On the imjin day, the fifth day of the tenth month in winter, he reclined on his right side and passed away. He lived for forty-seven years and had been a monk for thirty-six years.

是前或夢, 寶幢崩推于地. 上聞之慟, 命有司贈賻, 有加冊爲國師, 謚曰大覺, 十六日癸卯, 茶毘收遺骨, 以十一月四日辛酉, 安厝於五冠山, 靈通寺之震方, 從本敎也.

Previously, [the king] sometimes dreamt that the jeweled banner [of the monastery] collapsed and fell on the ground. When the king heard [of Ŭich'ŏn's death] he wept bitterly. He ordered the authorities in charge to provide for funeral presents and he had him additionally granted the title of National Preceptor and the posthumous title Taegak [lit. "Great Awakening" or "Great Awakened One"]. On the sixteenth day, the kyemyo day, he was cremated and his relics were collected. On the fourth day, the sinyou day, of the eleventh month, his relics were enshrined east of Yŏngt'ong-sa on Ogwan-san, in accordance with the original teaching [i.e., following Buddhist usage].

佛法, 以梁大通元年丁未, 肇入新羅後. 一百餘年, 義想元曉作, 是二師者, 以聖種性, 爲大宗師. 末光所燭, 餘波所加, 皆得以出其黯闇, 而造其高明. 及去聖云遠, 法隨而弛. 世所謂名士者, 心蕩乎名, 智昏乎利, 學益浮淺, 涉獵典籍, 礫烈文句, 置之齒牙閒, 呶呶以自好.

The Buddhist teachings [lit. the Buddha's Dharma] initially were transmitted to Silla in the forty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle, the first year of the Datong era of the Liang dynasty. Over a hundred years afterwards, Ŭisang and Wŏnhyo were active [promoted Buddhism]. These two masters belonged to the spiritual family of [Buddhist] saints and were great teachers [of Buddhism]. The shining of their lingering light, the contribution of their remaining waves all enabled [sentient beings] to escape from utter darkness [of ignorance] and reach the lofty brightness [of awakening]. But as we were further distanced from the saints, the [practice of the] Dharma consequently became lax. The minds of those the world referred to as illustrious men [i.e., famous monks] were agitated by fame,

their wisdom was dulled by [seeking material] benefits, their learning became increasingly superficial. They read classical books extensively, taking phrases out of context and quoting these at any time, being content with babbling.

後來者, 承誤襲謬, 往而不返. 師於是, 疾習俗之蔽蒙也, 道德之鬱滯也, 激昂奮勵, 以明道求弊, 爲己任. 黜其典學, 示之妙蘊, 剖發幽覆, 扶起寙惰. 雷霆而震動之, 雨露以溥灌之閒, 雖有心服, 而悅隨者, 而群邪嫉正, 謗毀沸騰, 以道自處, 恬不動心. 終而翕然, 寢變於正, 異時, 僻見妄執者, 革面遷慮, 務爲根本之學. 亦嘗言曰, 禪家所謂, 不藉筌蹄, 以心傳心, 則上上根智者也. 脫或下士, 以口耳之學, 認得一法. 自以爲足, 指, 三藏十二分教, 芻狗也, 糟粕也, 又烏足觀者, 不亦誤乎.

Monks who succeeded them inherited their errors [i.e., their false understanding] and proceeded without reconsideration. Consequently, the master [Ŭich'ŏn] deplored the ignorance of customs [i.e., ignorance relating to proper study and practice] and the profuse obstruction of virtue. He made strenuous efforts and made it his duty to clarify the path and to rescue it from corruption. He dismissed that textual study [and wrong quotations], [instead] indicating the marvelous collection [i.e., the wonderful Dharma of the *Lotus Sūtra*], and disclosed what was obscure and hidden. He helped up those who were lazy and dissipated, [by] shaking them with a thunderbolt and extensively pouring rain and dew [i.e., grace] among them. Although there where those whose minds were [fully] convinced [by Ŭich'ŏn] and joyfully followed him, there were [also] evil-minded groups [of monks] who were jealous of [Ŭich'ŏn's] correct [path] and slandered [him] violently, professing themselves as [conforming] to the [Buddhist] path. [But Ŭich'ŏn remained] peaceful, his mind was unmoved. In the end, [the monks] gathered in harmony, the situation was restored to correctness, and later on those [monks] who were wrongly attached to one-sided views amended their outlook and changed their thoughts, and devoted themselves to the fundamental study [of Buddhism]. Also, he said, "What the Sŏn Masters say is that those who do not rely on the teachings, but rely on the transmission from mind to mind, are indeed of the wisdom of the highest faculty. Those practitioners of inferior [faculties] rely on studying the doctrine imparted

from mouth to ear [i.e., listening to lectures], and are satisfied if they comprehend one [single] dharma. [The Sŏn school] points out [to them] that the twelve divisions of the teachings in the tripitaka are as [disposable] straw dog or as dregs. Again, how could those who are satisfied to view this [as such] not be wrong as well?"

乃勸學楞伽, 起信等經論, 又天性至孝, 善父母不怠, 及其亡則, 窮思畢情以營功德, 至自燒臂, 後値諱日, 亦如之又. 鑑識洞然, 樂善不倦. 每與縉紳先生, 燕見應對, 其言論, 不出聖人之道. 又其文辭, 平澹而有味, 故士大夫, 承風而披靡, 稍厭彫琢, 而趣雅正焉. 至於俗吏, 虎臣, 不以文學自業, 及它道異術, 相背如仇讐者, 一見其貌, 聞其言則, 莫不竦然自服, 恨相値之晩. 後睿考, 覩畫像, 徘徊感慕, 親製讃詞二百字.

Therefore, he advised people to study sūtras and treatises, such as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Awakening of Faith*. Also [he encouraged] the innate nature to be extremely filial, to properly support one's parents without indolence, and –when they pass away– to exert one's utmost efforts in managing their [postmortem] benefits [by providing for their funeral services], even burning one's own arm, and to [continuously] attend upon them later on after having met the day of their death. His reflecting consciousness was penetratingly clear, and he tirelessly relished performing virtuous practices. He frequently received government officials and gentlemen, [yet] while talking with them, he never departed from the path of saints [i.e., he kept adhering to Buddhist viewpoint]. Furthermore, his writing style was simple and plain, yet with a [special] taste. Therefore, the literati accepted his style and were swept by it. He slightly disliked embellishing one's writing, and was inclined to the elegant and correct [simplicity]. As for petty officials and guard officers, whose profession did not consist in composing literature, and eunuchs whose path [i.e., specialization] was in different techniques, who were in antagonist positions like [bitter] enemies, as soon as they saw the appearance [of Ŭich'ŏn's writing] or heard his [spoken] words, there were none among them who were not awe-struck and became convinced of them [by themselves] and regretted being [too] late

to meet with him. Later on, when King Yejong[10] saw his portrait, he paced back and forth feeling gratitude and adoration [for him], and personally composed a poem of eulogy [to his portrait] in two hundred characters.

師適宋時, 泗上禮僧伽塔, 上有光明如燈火, 天竺寺禮觀音, 放素光赫赫然. 又在海印寺講經, 堂宇忽動, 有驚起者, 睿考, 在東宮, 被疾, 請師爲讀金剛般若經, 至乙夜, 光自口出, 燭於戶牖. 傳所謂神異感通者, 豈是歟. 又不忘興福, 或告永新前路, 是百郡之所出入. 舊有館院而壞亡, 卽指授門人, 作新之. 名館曰, 指南院, 曰兼濟, 至睿考, 錫以土田, 始師之幼. 太后謂言, "吾願於興王寺內, 別開一院, 爲若異日行道之所." 伻來卜地, 至後營構, 號之薦福, 其他所成佛像經文, 亦不能盡書.

When the master went to Song [China], he bowed to the stūpa of Sengqie [Great Master] Saṅgha upstream of Sizhou,[11] and [at that moment] a light shining bright like the fire of a lamp [appeared] above. When he bowed to [the image of] Avalokiteśvara at Tianzhu-si, it emitted a bright white light. Furthermore, when he was lecturing on the sūtras at Haein-sa, the [lecture] hall suddenly shook, [causing many] to be startled. When [King] Yejong was [still a Crown Prince] dwelling in the Eastern Palace,[12] he fell ill and requested the master to recite the *Diamond Sūtra* [*Vajracchedikā-prajñāparamitā sūtra*]. Then at ten o' clock at night, a ray of light came forth from his mouth, illuminating his room [lit. door and window]. This indeed is what in the biographies [of eminent monks] is referred to as supernormal

10 Yejong (r. 1105–1122) was the eldest son of king Sukjong. He promoted Daoism and during his reign, Daoist court rituals were introduced from Song Dynasty China.

11 Sengqie 僧伽 (S., Saṅgha; ca. 660–710) was a monk from the Western Regions 西域 who founded a monastery in Sizhou 泗州, on the southern shore of the Huai 淮 River. Popularly known as Sizhou Heshang (The Monk of Sizhou), he was venerated after his death as an incarnation of Guanyin 觀音, the Bodhisattva of Mercy. In the Song Dynasty, he became a cult figure revered for his power to prevent floods.

12 The crown prince was referred to as Tonggung 東宮 due to the location of his residence from the main palace.

powers! Furthermore, he did not forget to [build] Hŭngbok-sa [for the prosperity of the country], or to pray for the perpetual innovation of the road ahead [i.e., the destiny of the country]. [Also because] this was the place where a hundred prefectures intersected, in the past, there were [government] offices [or: Daoist and Buddhist temples] [in charge of praying for the state's welfare] there, but as these became derelict, [Ŭich'ŏn] then instructed his disciples to restore these, and these were named Chinam Cloister and Kyŏmje Cloister. Then [King] Yejong donated farmland [to these], [something entirely due to] the master's merit. The queen mother said, "I wish to open a separate cloister within the compounds of Hŭngwang-sa, as a place for you to practice the path in the future." [Thus] she sent emissaries to select the place. And later, when the construction work was completed, the [cloister] was named Ch'ŏnbok-wŏn. It is not possible to exhaustively document his other building projects, Buddha images, and sūtras [as they are too numerous].

> 師旣爲一國尊親, 有大政事, 必款密諮決故, 所與上, 論列國家事甚多. 而有陰德於人民, 亦厚世莫得而盡知. 師欲立言以垂不腐, 而志莫之遂. 嘗以群言汗漫, 撮其精要, 類別部分, 名曰圓宗文類. 又欲會古今文章, 有補於敎, 以爲釋苑詞林, 而未及參定. 至後乃成故, 去取失當. 門人集所著, 詩文殘編, 斷藁存者, 無幾紬次, 爲二十卷, 此皆率爾落筆, 非將以貽後也, 故於生前有以其文寫而刻之者, 取其板焚之.

As the master was the revered parent [i.e., spiritual leader] of the entire country, whenever there was an important government affair, he was certain to provide his discrete advice. Therefore, he very often discussed with the king the affairs of state. Furthermore, he also performed good deeds in secret for the sake of the people. Also, later generations are not able to know the full extent [of his deeds]. The master wished to express his ideas so that they may be bequeathed to posterity without being corrupted. But his aspiration could not be fulfilled. Going through the wide range of his collection of sayings, [his contemporaries] extracted the essentials [thereof], and classified them into categories, [and published them] under the title of "Categorised

documents on the perfect teaching" [*Wŏnjong mullyu*]. Furthermore, they wanted to gather the writings of the past and present, in order to supplement his teachings [on Tiantai], and [published them] as "Forest of Letters in the Garden of Śākyamuni" [*Sŏkwŏn sarim*], but he [himself, ie., Ŭich'ŏn] could not participate in its completion, and it was after [his death] that it was then completed. Therefore [it contains] errors. His disciples collected his writings, his poetry and prose, incomplete writings, and partial manuscripts, that were extant, put them in order, and [published] them in twenty fascicles. As these were hastily written down, they were not worthy of being bequeathed to later generations. Therefore, the blocks of texts that he had written down during his lifetime and had been engraved were seized and burned.

當時北遼天祐帝, 聞其名, 送大藏及諸宗疏抄六千九百餘卷, 其餘文書, 藥物金帛, 至不可勝計. 燕京法師雲諝, 高昌國阿闍梨, 尸羅嚩底, 亦皆尊嚮, 以策書法服爲問, 遼人來使者, 皆請見以土物, 藉手以拜, "吾使入遼則必問師之安否." 最後日本人, 求文書於我, 其目有大覺國師碑誌, 其名顯四方, 爲異國所尊.

At that time, Emperor Tianyou of the Northern Liao,[13] having heard about the [master's] fame, sent over six thousand and nine hundred fascicles of the Tripitaka and commentaries and abstracts of the different schools. Additionally, [he sent] an incalculable number of documents, medicines, gold and silk. The Dharma master Yunxu in Yanjing, the Ācārya *Śīlavāti in the country of Gaochang [Turfan], also venerated [him] and inquired about him by [sending] letters and Dharma robes. The people from the Liao who came as envoys all requested to see him by [offering] domestic products as a token of their reverence, [saying:] "When we went to Liao as envoys, we were always asked about the master's well-being. At last, when the Japanese people requested us for documents, among the list [of requested texts] were the stele inscription

[13] The Northern Liao was a state created by the Khitans, separated from the Liao Dynasty. It only existed for approximately nine months in 1122–1123 and only had two emperors, none of them being named "Emperor Tianyou." Tianyou possibly refers to Tianzuo 天祚, the last emperor of the Liao Dynasty, who reigned from 1101 to 1125.

of the National Master Taegak [Ŭich'ŏn]. His fame was displayed in the four quarters [i.e., everywhere], and he was venerated in foreign countries."

又如此, 師嘗召臣, 先兄釋玄湛, 與之遊, 甚歡相知之分, 非啻期牙. 臣, 由是, 得以一謁, 容色睟淸, 若覩靑天白日, 辱賜之坐語. 自晝窮夜, 試問易老莊, 一二大義, 臣偶能言之. 他日數稱之曰, "湛師弟, 亦才士也." 居無何 師入滅.

There was also [an event] like this: The master once called my late elder brother, the monk Hyŏndam, to go on a journey together. They were very cordial and close friends. [Their friendship] was much more than merely [a very close] relationship as between Zhong Ziqi and Bo Ya[14]. Because of this, I was once able to pay a visit [to the master]. He was of [pleasant] countenance and his eyes were clear, it was like looking at the blue sky in broad daylight. I was honored that he bestowed upon me the opportunity to sit and talk with him. From daytime till the end of the night, he asked me about some of the main principles exposed in the *Book of Changes*, the *Laozi*, and the *Zhuangzi*. I was by [mere] chance able to reply to these [questions]. Later on, he repeatedly praised me, saying [to my brother], "Hyŏndam, your younger brother is also a talented scholar." Before long, the master [Ŭich'ŏn] passed away.

噫, 士爲知己者用, 假令死而可作. 雖布髮而籍足, 亦所欣慕焉, 況以文字, 掛名於

[14] Yu Boya 俞伯牙 was a zither player from the Spring and Autumn Period or the Warring States period. He is mentioned together with Zhong Ziqi in the Tang Wen 湯問 Chapter of the *Liezi*, as illustrating the ideal of friendship. Bo Ya was good at playing the zither and Zhong Ziqi was good at to listening to the zither. When Bo Ya's will was towards high mountains in his playing, Zhong Ziqi would say, 'How towering like Mount Tai!' When Bo Ya's will was towards flowing water in his playing, Zhong Ziqi would say, 'How vast are the rivers and oceans!' Whatever Bo Ya thought of, Ziqi would never fail to understand. Bo Ya said to Zhong Ziqi, 'Amazing! Your heart and mine are the same!' When Zhong Ziqi died, Bo Ya broke the strings of his zither and vowed never to play again. Thus term *zhiyin* 知音 (lit. "to know one's music") was used to describe a close and sympathetic friend.

碑石之下, 豈不爲榮幸也哉. 而學術固陋, 辭語澁訥, 不能發幽德之潛光, 以示來裔. 是所恨焉, 其銘曰.

Alas! A scholar is employed by someone who acknowledges him. In case he should die, he yet can perform [his moral duty]. Although he spreads out his hair as a mat for his feet, this also is something for which he will be joyfully admired. How much more so if his name hangs, engraved in written characters, underneath the stele? How could this possibly not be a [great] honor and favor? However, my erudition and skills are narrow, my diction and language are coarse and inarticulate. I am unable to express the recondite light of [the master's] concealed virtue, and demonstrate it to future generations. This is what I regret. The inscription says,

義想西學,
傳佛圓音.
元曉獨見,
窮幽極深.

Ŭisang went to study in the West [i.e., China], coming back transmitting the Buddha's perfect sound [i.e., the perfect teaching of Huayan].
Wŏnhyo studied alone, thoroughly investigating the recondite [meaning] and reaching the profound [meaning of the teachings].

或出或處,
脗然同心.
香薰霧潤,
學者林林.

Whether they left for abroad or remained in the country, they had the same mind [seeking for the deep truth of Buddhism].
Imbued with the fragrance of incense and moistened by the fog [of the Dharma], students [i.e., monks] gathered beneath them as numerous as wood trees.

道與世喪,
日薄月偸.
有狂東走,
無知北遊.

The path decays in accordance with [the laws of] the world, as the time passes by [lit. "the sun fading away and the moon being stolen].
There are those crazy running eastwards, and those ignorant wandering to the north.

迷不知復,
放不知求.
邪熾正滅,
不塞不流.

Those who are deluded do not know how to return, those who are dissolute do not know how to seek [the path].
The perverse [mind] is fiercely ablaze while the correct [mind] is dying out. It [the mind originally] is neither obstructed, nor flowing [freely].

否終則傾,
異人挺生.
不留富貴,
而趣高明.

Otherwise, [the mind] would in the end collapse, [if not for] the birth of an extraordinary person [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn].
Not entangled in wealth and fame, he went to [seek] lofty and brilliant [masters].

誰謂宋遠,
木道乃行.
索焉而獲,

爲焉而成.

Who said that Song China is far away? He then proceeded on the way leading through the sea.
Searching there [for masters] and finding [them], thus accomplishing his goal.

理無不盡,
事無不融.
遊觀自在,
浩不可窮.

[As a result of his studies], concerning the noumenon [principle, truth] there was nothing that was not thoroughly [understood], concerning phenomena, there was nothing which was not [perfectly] interfused.
He journeyed to learn in a completely free fashion, broad and wide without any limits.

攝諸刹海,
於一毛中.
不動一步,
周行虛空.

As the oceans of all world-systems are contained within one single hair, even though he did not move a single step, [yet] he went everywhere through empty space.

橫流湯湯,
獨爲之防.
道其百派,
東至于洋.

Only he was able to contain the forceful and turbulent flow of water [i.e.,

the tendency of Buddhism to schism],
The [originally one] path in its hundred schools, reached East [i.e., Korea] as far as the ocean.

始則不信,
狺狺衆狂,
終隨而革,
磨淬發光.

At first, nobody believed him, and a pack of crazy [dogs] yelped.
In the end, they returned and reformed [themselves], by polishing and hardening [themselves; ie.: by strenuous efforts] they emitted the brightness [of the mind].

惟君之哲,
其尊其師.
問道之要,
謀事之疑.

He is the sage among the gentlemen [royals], [the kings] venerated him as their teacher.
They asked him about the essentials of the path, they consulted with him about uncertainties of political affairs [government affairs].

陰毘密贊,
幾格淸夷.
飄然遠擧,
則挽留之.

He discretely [secretly] helped and secretly assisted [the government].
His natural character was clear and peaceful.
He was lofty and disposed to leave far behind the secular world, but then they [the world] urged him to stay.

其道之大,
如天如地.
淵源之深,
固不敢議.

The magnitude of his path was just [lofty] like heaven and [broad like the] earth.
The profoundity of the source [of his mind] indeed is something one dare not discuss.

其出於時,
土苴而已.
如膚寸雲,
澤彌萬里.

When he manifested [himself] in those times, he merely did so with a detached attitude.
Like an inch of cloud, his lustre pervaded ten thousand *li*.

厥徒叩闕,
稽首敷臆,
冀書之碑,
以揚宏則.

His disciples requested the king [lit. knocked at the gate of the royal palace], with bowed head and ubholding their innermost thought,
They desired that the stele inscription for [the master's stūpa] [be erected], so as to extol and propagate his model.

上曰其然,
乃命臣軾,
臣拜獻辭,
貽厥罔極.

The king said, "So be it." Then he ordered me, his subject, [to compose it]. I in deference, complied and submitted [this] composition [of mine], being well aware [and ashamed] that it is utterly inappropriate.

陰記 Reverse inscription.

大覺國師墓室, 及碑銘安立, 事跡記.[朴浩撰]

Record of the events related to the grave chamber of National Preceptor Taegak and the establishment of his stele inscription. (Compiled by Pak Ho).

國師墓室, 在靈通寺東北隅, 太史令, 崔資顥, 春官正全幹, 奉肅廟聖旨, 卜定其地, 員外郎, 朴浩, 奉宣, 述墓記. 三重普滋, 翼玄, 重大師, 融介, 暹顯, 朗機, 都, [以下缺], 三百人, 作之, 歸法寺重大師, 妙悅, 忠現等 五百人, 輸大石, 覆其墓, 皆三重. 翼玄, 督視之. 旣而, 營祭堂三間于墓南, 靈通寺重大師, 得嚴, 法善等, 五十人, 作之. 又役靈通寺僧, 四百五十人, [以下缺], 恒式. 又造家墓下, 引白丁四人, 居之, 給衣食, 使守墓.

The tomb chamber of the National Master is located on the north-eastern corner of Yŏngt'ong-sa. The Grand Astrologer Ch'oe Cha-ho and the Ministry of Rites' [i.e., Bureau of Astrology] Director Chŏn Kan, respectfully upholding the royal order of King Sukjong, decided the place by divination. The Vice Director Pak Ho, upholding the royal directive, compiled the epitaph. The Triply Exalted [Masters] Poja and Ikhyŏn, the Exalted Masters Yunggae, Sŏmhyŏn, and Nanggi, and the … three hundred people performed it. The Exalted Masters of Kwibŏp-sa, Myoyŏl and Ch'unghyŏn, and others for a total of five hundred people, transported the great stone to cover his tomb. They were all Triply Exalted Masters and Ikhyŏn supervised them.

And then an offering hall consisting of three rooms was built south of the tomb. The Exalted Masters of Yŏngt'ong-sa, Tŭk'ŏm, and Pŏpsŏn, and others, a total of fifty people built it. Also, monks servicing Yŏngt'ong-sa, a total of four hundred fifty people … [characters missing] … [performed]

constant service. Additionally, they built a house below the tomb, and hired four commoners to dwell there, providing them with clothing and food, and had them guard the tomb.

壬午五月日, 知奏事尹瓘, 奉聖旨, 許立國師碑靈通寺, 至甲申年, 經始敬先院, 宣命大史令崔資顥, 春官正全幹, 卜地, [以下缺], 普滋[永寧院主], 三重翼玄[重閣院主], 重大師德滋[香海院主], 重大師眞介[崎房主]等, 都管勾役事, 重大師得妙[毘羅房主], 主穀, 重大師勝流[眞觀寺], 主材, 重大師融介[天台院主], 石主鍛, 賢善, 爲執事, 稟, [以下缺], 定宏等, 助手役僧, 二十五人, 興王寺, 重大師.

On a day of the fifth month in the nineteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1102], the Commissioner for Memorials [知奏事] Yun Kwan, upholding the royal order, permitted that the stele of the National Preceptor be erected at Yŏngt'ong-sa. Then, in the twenty-first year of the sexagenary cycle [1104], [King Sukjong] began to build the Kyŏngsŏn-wŏn [lit., Temple for Honoring the Ancestors] and issued an order to the Grand Astrologer Ch'oe Cha-ho and the Ministry of Rites' Director Chŏn Kan to select the site by divination. (missing characters)

Poja (overseer of Yŏngdŏk-wŏn), Triply Exalted Master Ikhyŏn (overseer of Chunggak-wŏn), Exalted Great Master Tŏkja (overseer of Hyanghae-wŏn), Exalted Great Master Chin'gae (overseer of Ki-bang) and others supervised the labors.

The Exalted Great Master Tŭngmyo (overseer of Pira-bang) was in charge of victuals. The Exalted Great Master Sŭngnyu (abbot of Chin'gwan-sa) was in charge of the timber, The Exalted Great Master Yunggae (overseer of the Ch'ŏnt'ae-wŏn) was in charge of stone materials, Hyŏnsŏn was in charge of management. P'um … [missing characters] … Chŏnggoeng and others were assistants, and the laboring monks, twenty-five persons, were Exalted Great Masters of Hŭngwang-sa.

碩從与石工, 首大師, 有英, 神妙, 眞憲, 德甫等, 助手, 役僧二十五人, 成贊加金三人, 作鍛也. 至癸巳年, 十一月日, 敬先院成. 伐青石于沒頓山, 三重, 翼, [以下缺], 兼鍛事, 與石工, 重大師, 碩從助之役. 歸法寺僧, 三十五人, 旣伐石下山, 此

三十五人, 及興王寺, 薦福院, 白丁四十人, 竝用牛三十三首, 輸石到濟危寶. 歸法寺主, 首座應先, 領衆五百餘人, 出助, [以下缺].

Sŏkchong was the head of stone workers. The Great Masters Yuyŏng, Sinmyo, Chinhŏn, Tŏkpo and others were assistants. There were twenty-five monks on duty. There were three people who did the forging for the gilding of the encomium. On a day in the eleventh month of the thirtieth year of the sexagenary cycle [1113], the Kyŏngsŏn-wŏn was completed. The granite was extracted from Moldon-san. The Triply Exalted [Master] Ik … [characters missing, probably hyŏn] … was concurrently in charge of forging metal and stone labor. The Exalted Master Sŏkchong assisted in labor service. Thirty-five monks of Kwipŏp-sa had extracted the stone [block] and brought it down from the mountain. These thirty-five persons and forty commoners (*paekchŏng*) from the Ch'ŏnbok-wŏn at Hŭngwang-sa, using thirty-three oxen, transported the stone to the Chewi-bo (lit. Relieving the Danger Jewel), where the abbot of Kwipŏp-sa and the Head Seat Ŭngsŏn, leading an assembly of over five hundred people, came to assist … [characters missing] …

此碑之左方, 彌勒堂, 遣歸法寺衆, 還之. 翌日, 以靈通寺衆五百餘人, 輸置敬先院東閣, 普光院田中, 有石, 半入于地. 石工, 重大師碩從, 石匠, 侅, [以下缺], 心收集勇勵也. 一七日閒, 問斲作龜形, 安置敬先院東閣. 踰八歲, 至辛卯年, 省奏, "大覺國師碑在寺, 西北根脈, 於勢不便宜, 更." [以下缺], 元忠, 春官正全幹, 到寺, 與門徒名公, 卜擇, 得食堂, 南廊外平地, 卽今此地是也.

On the left side of this stele there is the Maitreya Hall. The assembly at Kwipŏp-sa was sent back. The next day, the assembly of Yŏngt'ŏng-sa, consisting of over five hundred people transported the stone and placed it at the eastern gate of Kyŏngsŏn-wŏn in the fields of Po'gwang-wŏn, where it was placed halfway into the ground. The stone work was [supervised] by the Exalted Master Sŏkchong, The stone artisan was Hae … [characters missing] …

[They] collected their minds together and bravely strove [to accomplish the task].

In a period of seventeen days, they labored at carving the turtle-shaped

[stele pedestal], which they placed at the eastern gate of the Kyŏngsŏn-wŏn. Eight years later, in the twenty-eighth year of the sexagenary cycle, they memorialized the king, [saying that] the stele of the National Preceptor Tae'gak was located in the north-west on a [geomantic] root-vein, the energy of which was not convenient or suitable. Again, … [missing characters] …

Wŏnch'ung … The Ministry of Rites' Director Chŏn Kan visited the monastery and, with the disciple [Venerable] Myŏng, selected by divination a piece of level ground outside the southern corridor of the refectory hall, which is the current site.

明年二月, 此興王寺衆, 一千六百七十人, [以下缺], 慧宣 [靈通寺善炤院興王寺正覺院主], 福興寺住持, 僧統翼玄 [靈通寺重閣院興王寺無相], 崇善寺 [住持首座], 夢英, 檀香寺住持, [以下缺], 興王寺重大師, 世賢, 神現, 碩從, 玄漢, 靈通寺重大師, 占惠, 洪惠, 志一, 性沖, 碩珍, 弘現, 朗沖, 善解, 眞憲, 德甫, 爲介, 妙賢, 幸照, 賢覽, [以下缺], 朴瑾, 畵其緣, 石匠, 校尉林旦, 刻之 等刻字 畵士, 至十二月, 二十日, 畢工. 重大師, 世賢, 碩從, 申從,指事. 以靈通寺衆, 四百五十人, [以下缺], 門人, 師子寺, 住持, 悟 [以下缺].

In the second month of the following year [1112], the assembly of monks at Hŭng'wang-sa, [consisting of] one thousand six hundred seventy people, [missing characters] …

Hyesŏn (supervisor of the Sŏnso-wŏn in Yŏngt'ong-sa and of Chŏnggak-wŏn in Hŭngwang-sa), the abbot of Pokhŭng-sa and Superintendent of Monks Ikhyŏn (supervisor of Chunggak-wŏn in Yŏngt'ong-sa and of Musang-wŏn in Hŭng'wang-sa), Mong'yŏn (abbot and Head Seat) of Sungsŏn-sa, the abbot of Tanhyang-sa … [missing characters] … the Exalted Great Masters of Hŭng'wang-sa: Sehyŏn, Sinhyŏn, Sŏkchong, Hyŏnhan; the Exalted Great Masters of Yŏngt'ong-sa: Chŏmhye, Honghye, Chiil, Sŏngch'ung, Sŏkchin, Honghyŏn, Nangch'ung, Sŏnhae, Chinhŏn, Tŏkpo, Wigae, Myohyŏn, Haengjo, Hyŏllam, … [characters missing] …

Pak Kŭn painted the [stele's] fringe. The stone masonry [was performed] by the Commandant Yim Tan, who carved it. [So] they [Pak Kŭn and Yim Tan] carved the letters and [Pak Kŭn] was the painter. It was completed on

the twentieth day of the twelfth month.

The Exalted Great Masters Sehyŏn, Sŏkchong, and Sinjong directed this affair and had the assembly of Yŏngt'ong-sa, four hundred and fifty people, … [missing characters] …

The disciple and abbot of Saja-sa, O [… missing characters] …

陰記廓外 Reverse inscription, outer colophon.

大覺國師門徒, 職名, 開坐, 碑陰, 如左.
門人, 見佛寺住持, 沙門, 慧素, 奉宣, 書.

The disciples of the National Preceptor Taegak, their office names, and their ranks are on the reverse side, as follows. Upholding the orders, his disciple, the abbot of Kyŏnbul-sa, the śramaṇa Hyeso, wrote this.

僧統
昶元 [本是景德門人 師少時所咨 稟者 爲弘護寺 第一代主], 稱道 [本景德門人], 理琦 [本景德門人師少時所承受者], 俟詔, 弘闡, 樂眞 [本是景德門人 從師入宋求法至睿考時 封爲王師], 器英, 聽諝, 宣慧, [以下缺].

Superintendent of Monks:

Ch'ang'wŏn: Originally he was a disciple of National Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk, [but] when the National Preceptor [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn] was young, he studied under him and became the first-generation abbot of Hongho-sa.

Ch'ingdo: Originally a disciple of National Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk.

Yi'gi: Originally a disciple of National Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk. When the [National] Preceptor [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn] was young, he inherited from him.

Saso and Hongch'ŏn: disciples of the National Preceptor.

Nakchin: Originally a disciple of National Preceptor Kyŏngdŏk. When the [National] Preceptor [i.e., Ŭich'ŏn] entered Song [China] to seek the Dharma, he followed him as his attendant. He was appointed Royal Preceptor in Yejong's reign.

Kiyŏng, Ch'ŏngsŏ, and Hongch'ŏn: disciples of the National Preceptor.

… [missing characters] …

首座.

學淵, 仁允, 爽英, 靈善, 南曉, 靈憲, 昶之, 融諝, 顯深, [以下缺] 講明, 宿堅, 古先, 充世, 神悟, 普滋, [以下缺] 承照, 夢英, 惟儼, 彥沖, 靈法, 相智, 顯雄, 處常, 道隣[從師入宋者], 代眞, 則由, 承冠, 賢濬, 慧溫.

Head Seats:

Kak'yŏn, In'yun, Sang'yŏng, Yŏngsŏn, Namhyo, Yŏnghŏn, Ch'angji, Yungsŏ, Hyŏnsim.

… [missing characters] …

Kangmyŏng, Suggyŏn, Kosŏn, Ch'ungse, Sin'o, Poja.

… [missing characters] …

Sŭngjo, Mongyŏng, Yuŏm, Ŏnch'ung, Yŏngbŏp, Sangji, Hyŏn'ung, Ch'ŏsang, Torin (entered Song China following the Master), Taejin, Ch'ik'yu, Sŭnggwan, Hyŏnjun, Hyeon,

三重大師.

令玄, 善機, 幹英, 敎英,英闡, 廣慈 [己上本景德門人], 芳古, 洪悅, 道眞, 善嚴, 壽介 [從師入宋者], 應宣, 成俊, [以下缺] 圓璉, 神珥, 利崇, 裕幹, 挺賢, 靈印, 淸慧, 戒膺, 惟淸, 昶均, 正玄, 曇柱, 德稱, 資守, 慧示. [以下缺]

Triply Exalted Masters:

Yŏnghyŏn, Sŏngi, Kan'yŏng, Kyoyŏng, Yŏngch'ŏn, Kwangja, (the above were previous disciples of Kyŏngdŏk). Panggo, Hong'yŏl, Tojin, Sŏn'ŏm, Sugae (followed the Master into Song China), Ŭngsŏn, Sŏngjun, … [missing characters] … Wŏn'yŏn, Sin'i, Isung, Yu'gan, Yŏnhyŏn. Yŏng'in, Chŏng'hye, Kyebu, Yuch'ŏng, Ch'anggyun, Chŏnghyŏn, Tamju, Tŏkch'ing, Chasu, Hyesi,

… [missing characters] …

重大師.

應周, 向玄, 應守, 聰智, 紹餘, 教琛, 占沖, 明諝, 戒豊, 繼明, 照眞, 順明, 守明, 在宗, 從海, [以下缺] [已上本景德門人], 上機, 日滋, 先器, 講眞, 應成, 俊神, 占崇, 亮□, 惟哲, 成諝, 志明, 英冠, 法緣, 應冲, 諝資, 融現, 守南玄諝,應淸, 壽千, 迪之, 義滋, 挺英, 處英, 義持, 珍諝, 仁賢, 成裕, 幸□, [以下缺] 慧沖, 緇秀, 得機, 念眞, 妙慈, 靈致, 慧高, 洪機, 猶吾, 玄, [以下缺] 派, 經成, 良辯 [從師入宋者], 慧芳, [以下缺] 裕貞, 周冠, 廣賢, 性英, 諝貞, 法常, 法暢, 崇諝, 順雄, 惟順, 融介, 暹現, 法悟, 介□, [以下缺] 景猷, 潤諝, 成璉, 勝流, 釋雲, 因俊, 道雲, 珍鑑, 復元, 惟勝, 元亮, 宗鑑, 稱現, [以下缺] 慧素, 慧謙, 觀宣, 慧幢, 慧觀, 慧妙, 慧南, 慧悟, 俊隣, 彦覺, 法□, 性照, 海瓊, [以下缺] 慧嚴, 明介, 辯眞, 周敏, 周潤, 教珍, 定韶, 性觀, 懷遠, 慧臻, 笑瑾, 英□, 繼玄, [以下缺] 慧仁, 善連, 正眞, 性眞, 戒雄, 雄照, 戒瑚, 慧敬, 慧良, 慧約, 戒如, [以下缺] 道宗, 尙先, 成信, 銳觀, 玄悟, 穎機, 慧深, 景純, 崇妙, 證玄, 釋詮. [以下缺]

Exalted Great Masters:

Ŭngju, Hyang'yŏn, Ŭngsu, Ch'ongji, Soyŏ, Kyoch'im, Koch'ung, Myŏngsŏ, Kyep'ung, Kyemyŏng, Chojin, Sunmyŏng, Sumyŏng, Chaejong, Chonghae.

… [missing characters]

(The aforementioned monks were originally disciples of Kyŏngdok).

Sanggi, Ilcha, Sŏn'gi, Kangjin, Ŭngsŏng, Chunsin, Chŏmsung, Hyang□, Yuch'ŏl, Sŏngsŏ, Chimyŏng, Yŏnggwan, Pŏbyŏn, Ŭngch'ung, Sŏja, Yunghyŏn, Su'nam, Hyŏnsŏ, Ŭngch'ŏng, Such'ŏn, Chŏkchi, Ŭija, Yŏn'yŏng, Ch'ŏyŏng, Ŭiji, Chinsŏ, Inhyŏn, Sŏng'yu, Haeng□, … [missing characters] …

Hyech'ung, Ch'isu, Tŭkki, Yŏmjin, Myoja, Yŏngch'i, Hyego, Honggi, Yuo, Hyŏn□, P'a□, Kyŏngsŏng, Yangbyŏn (followed the Master to Song China), Hyebang. … [missing characters] …

Yujŏng, Chu'gwan, Kwanghyŏn, Sŏng'yŏng, Sŏjŏng, Pŏpsang, Pŏpch'ang, Sungsŏ, Sun'ung, Yusun, Yunggae, Sŏmhyŏn, Pŏbo, Kae□, … [missing characters] …

Kyŏng'yu, Sŏng'yŏn, Sŭng'yu, Sŏk'un, Injun, Toun, Chin'gam, Pok'wŏn, Yusŭng, Wŏllyang, Chonggam, Ch'inghyŏn, …[missing characters]…

Hyeso, Hyegyŏm, Kwansŏn, Hyedang, Hyegwan, Hyemyo, Hyenam, Hyeo, Chullin, Ŏn'gak, Pŏb□, Sŏngjo, Haegyŏng, …[missing characters]…

Hyeŏm, Myŏnggae, Pyŏnjin, Chumin, Chuyun, Kyojin, Chŏngso,

Sŏnggwan, Hoewŏn, Hyejin, Sogŭn, Yŏng□, Kyehyŏn, … [missing characters] …

Hye'in, Sŏllyŏn, Chŏngjin, Sŏngjin, Kyeung, Ungjo, Kyeho, Hyegyŏng, Hyeyang, Hyeyak, Kyeyŏ, Tojong, Sangsŏn, Sŏngsin, Yegwan, Hyŏn'o, Yŏnggi, Hyesim, Kyŏngsun, Sungmyo, Chŭnghyŏn, Sŏkchŏn. … [missing characters] …

大師.
思俊, 唱英, 利英, 湛靈, 挺成, 慶融, 清璉, 慧先, 宗哲, 義宏, 自强, 慧□, 利宣, 慧千, 教元, 照常, [以下缺]

Great Masters:
Sajun, Ch'ang'yŏng, Iyŏng, Tam'yŏng, Yŏnsŏng, Kyŏng'yung, Ch'ŏng'yŏn, Hyesŏn, Chongch'ŏl, Ŭikoeng, Chagang, Hye□, Isŏn, Hyech'ŏn, Kyowŏn, Chosang, … [missing characters] …

大德.
自寧, 慧俊, 慧均, 性如, 冠規, 仁永, 惟白, 慧善, 正端, 志圓, 占常, 法規, [以下缺]

Great Virtuoso:
Chayŏng, Hyejun, Hyegyun, Sŏng'yŏ, Kwan'gyu, In'yŏng, Yubaek, Hyesŏn, Chŏngdan, Chiwŏn, Chŏmsang, Pŏpkyu, … [missing characters] …

右, 奉聖旨, 施行.

The above has been enacted in conformity with royal order.

IX

STELE INSCRIPTION OF POJO CHINUL (順天 松廣寺 佛日普照國師碑文)

9.
Stele Inscription of Pojo Chinul

順天 松廣寺 佛日普照國師碑文

Stele inscription of the State Preceptor Puril Pojo at Songgwang-sa in Sunch'ŏn.

昇平府, 曹溪山, 松廣寺, 佛日普照國師, 碑銘, 幷序.

Preface and Stele Inscription of the State Preceptor Puril Pojo at Songgwang-sa on Chogye-san in Sŭngp'yŏng Superior Prefecture.

知公州事副使, 兼勸農使管句, 學士將仕郎, 兼禮部尙書, 賜紫金魚袋, 臣, 金君綏, 奉宣, 撰,
文林郎, 神號衛長, 臣, 柳伸, 奉宣, 書.

Composed in compliance with royal orders by the subject Kim Kun-su.Vice magistrate of Kongju [prefecture] and Agricultural Development Commissioner, Concurrently serving as Academician and Court Gentleman for Ceremonial Service, Head of the Ministry of Rites, and Recipient of the Purple-and-Gold Fish-Pouch. Written out in compliance with royal orders by the subject Yu Sin, Gentleman-litterateur and Commander of the Divine Tiger Guard.

禪那之學源, 出於迦葉波. 達磨得之, 來化震旦. 傳之者, 以不傳而傳. 修之者, 以無修而修, 葉葉相承, 燈燈幷耀, 一何奇也. 曁乎去聖彌遠, 法隨而弛, 學者, 守陳言, 迷密旨, 棄本而逐末. 於是乎, 觀察悟入之路茅塞, 文字戱論之端鋒起,

而正法眼藏, 幾墜乎地.

The origin of the teachings of Dhyāna [i.e., Sŏn] started from Kāśyapa. Bodhidharma obtained it [i.e., the transmission] and came to teach it in China. Those who transmitted it, transmitted it without transmitting anything, those who cultivated it, cultivated it without cultivating anything. A transmission from generation to generation, lit from lamp to lamp, how marvellous this is!

As the Saint [i.e., Buddha] departed a very long time ago, the [practice of the] Dharma has slackened. Those studying [the path] hold fast to the words while being confused about the recondite significance [of the teachings]. They discard what is essential and pursue what is trivial. Thus, the road to investigation and accessing awakening is blocked, the inception of idle discussion based on [written] words suddenly arises, and the treasury of the True Dharma Eye almost fell to earth.

於此, 有人焉, 獨能背浮僞之俗, 慕正眞之宗, 始於尋詮而詣理, 終於修定以發慧, 旣得乎己兼施諸人, 使禪風寢而復振, 祖 月晦而更明. 若然者, 可不謂迦葉之嫡孫, 達磨之宗子, 善繼善述者乎, 緊我國師是已.

In these circumstances, there was a person who alone was able to turn his back on the vain and false [secular] world, venerating the true teaching. He began by investigating the verbal explanations to reach the truth, he ended by cultivating samādhi in order to give rise to prajñā. Having obtained this, he simultaneously bestowed [the teachings on] people and caused the stagnant teachings of Sŏn to flourish again. The obscured moon of the patriarchs was thus again brought to light. If it is like this, how could he not be said to be the legitimate descendant of Kāśyapa and the eldest son of Bodhidharma, excelling in succeeding them and following their footsteps. Our State Preceptor [Chinul] is [indeed] such a person.

師諱知訥, 京西洞州[今瑞興郡]人也. 嘗自號爲牧牛子, 俗姓鄭氏. 考光遇, 國學學正, 妣趙氏, 開興郡夫人. 生而多病, 醫理不效. 考迺禱佛, 誓以出家疾尋逾.

The master's taboo name was Chinul. He was from Tongju [located] west from the capital [i.e., Kaegyŏng] (now Sŏhŭng Prefecture). He styled himself Mokuja [lit. "boy pasturing cattle"], his secular surname was Chŏng. His father was Kwang'u, an Instructor Second-class in the National [Confucian] University. His mother was from the Cho clan, Lady of Kaehŭng prefecture. From his birth, [Chinul] suffered from many illnesses, but the principles of medicine [i.e., all kinds of remedies] were not effective. His father then prayed to the Buddha, pledging to make him become a monk [if the illness was cured], and the illness was cured.

年甫八歲, 投曹溪雲孫宗暉禪師, 祝髮受具戒, 學無常師, 唯道之從. 志操超邁, 軒軒如也.

When he reached the age of eight, he became a disciple of the Sŏn Master Chonghui, the eight-generation successor to the Chogye [Sŏn Master Pŏm'il], shaving his hair and receiving the full precepts. He studied without a permanent teacher, only following those masters who had achieved the path. His will and conduct were supremely lofty, he was outstanding [above all others].

二十五, 以大定二十二年壬寅, 擧僧選中之. 未幾南遊, 抵昌平清源寺, 住錫焉. 偶一日, 於學寮, 開六祖壇經, 至曰 "眞如自性起念, 六根雖見聞覺知, 不染萬像, 而眞性常自在." 乃驚喜, 得未曾有. 起繞佛殿, 頌而思之, 意自得也. 自是, 心厭名利, 每欲棲遁林壑, 艱恬以求其道, 造次必於是.

At the age of twenty-five, in the twenty-second year of the Dading era [1182], the thirty-ninth year of the sexagenary cycle, he passed the monastic examinations. Before long, he traveled south, arriving at Ch'ŏngwŏn-sa near Ch'angp'yŏng, where he took residence [lit., put his staff to rest].

One day, when he happened to be in the Study Hall, he opened the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, and came upon a passage saying, "The self-nature of true suchness gives rise to thoughts. Although the six sense organs see, hear, sense, and know, they are not defiled by the myriad

phenomena, but the true nature always possesses self-mastery." Then he felt surprise and joy, having obtained an unprecedented [state of mind]. He got up and circumambulated the Buddha Hall, eulogizing and reflecting about it, his consciousness self-satisfied. From then on, he disliked fame and profit, always wishing to dwell hidden in forest ravines, seeking the path with calmness, adhering to it in moments of haste [and danger].[1]

越大定二十五秊乙巳, 遊下柯山, 寓普門寺, 因讀大藏, 得李長者華嚴論, 重發信心, 搜抉而索隱, 嚌嚅而味情. 前解轉明, 迺潛心圓頓觀門, 亦欲導末學之迷, 爲之去釘拔楔. 適有舊識禪老得才者, 住公山居祖寺, 邀請懇至, 遂往居焉. 廣延諸宗, 抛名高士輩, 刻意勸請, 習定均慧, 夙夜無斁者, 累稔矣.

In the twenty-fifth year of the Dading era [1185], the forty-second year of the sexagenary cycle, he traveled to Haga-san and resided at Pomun-sa. While reading the Tripiṭaka, he came across the Elder Li [Tongxuan's] *Exposition of the Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, and as a consequence, once more produced a faithful mind, investigating the [text's] principle and extracting its recondite meaning, tasting the many words [of its interpretation] and becoming well versed therein. His previous understanding thus became increasingly lucid, and then his mind was immersed in the gate of the complete and sudden contemplation. Also, he wished to guide those neophyte students out of their delusion and to remove their nails and pull out their pegs. At that time, an old acquaintance, the Sŏn elder Tŭkchae who was dwelling at Kŏjo-sa on P'algong-san, invited him with the utmost sincerity. He then [thus]

1 Lunyu, Li Ren Chapter

里仁: 子曰:「富與貴是人之所欲也, 不以其道得之, 不處也; 貧與賤是人之所惡也, 不以其道得之, 不去也. 君子去仁, 惡乎成名? 君子無終食之間違仁, 造次必於是, 顚沛必於是.」

Li Ren: "The Master said, 'Riches and honors are what men desire. If it cannot be obtained in the proper way, they should not be held. Poverty and meanness are what men dislike. If it cannot be avoided in the proper way, they should not be avoided. If a superior man abandons virtue, how can he fulfill the requirements of that name? The superior man does not, even for the space of a single meal, act contrary to virtue. In moments of haste, he cleaves to it. In seasons of danger, he cleaves to it.'"

went to dwell there. For several years, he invited eminent scholars who had abandoned fame from the various schools and painstakingly encouraged to practice samādhi and prajñā equally, from dawn to night without fatigue.

至承安三年戊午春, 與禪侶數子一鉢, 尋智異山, 隱居上無住庵, 境致幽寂, 甲天下, 眞安禪之住所也. 於是, 屛黜外緣, 專精內觀. 磨淬發銳, 沿尋窮源. 時有得法瑞相數事, 語繁不載.

In the spring of the third year of the Cheng'an era [1198], in the fifty-fifth year of the sexagenary cycle,[2] with several fellow Sŏn practitioners, taking only their single bowl [as possession], he went to Chiri-san to dwell in seclusion at Sangmuju-am. Its scenery was secluded and calm, the finest under heaven, truly a dwelling place for the cultivation of Sŏn.

Thereupon, he discarded all external connections, exclusively focusing on internal contemplation. Thereupon he trained and molded himself so as to produce a sharp wisdom, investigating the ultimate source [of the mind]. At that time he achieved the Dharma, but I shall not record the profusion of words about the numerous events [surrounded by] auspicious signs.

師嘗言,"予自普門已來, 十餘年矣. 雖得意勤修, 無虛廢時, 情見未忘, 有物碍膺, 如讐同所, 至居智異. 得大慧普覺禪師語錄云, '禪不在靜處, 亦不在處, 不在日用應緣處, 不在思量分別處, 然, 一不得捨却靜處, 處, 日用應緣處, 思量分別處參, 忽然眼開, 方知是屋裏事.' 予於此契會, 自然不礙膺, 讐不同所, 當下安樂耳. 由是, 慧解增高, 衆所宗仰.

The master once said, "Over ten years passed since my arrival at Pomun-sa. Although I was determined and engaged in diligent cultivation, without wasting time in vain, I had yet to discard affective views. It was as if I had a blockage in my chest or was with the enemy in the same place. I moved my residence to Chiri-san, where I came across [a passage from] the *Recorded*

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2 The Cheng'an era 承安 (1196–1200) refers to the reign of the Jin 金 Dynasty Emperor Zhangzong 章宗, and its third year correspond to 1198.

Sayings of Chan Master Dahui Pujue, which said, "Chan is not located in a quiet place, nor is it located in a [noisy] place. It is not located where one responds to the conditions of daily life, nor is it located in logical discrimination. But, the foremost thing is that you should not abandon the place where quietness and noise, or the place where one responds to the conditions of daily life, or where there is logical discrimination. Investigate! Suddenly your eyes will open [i.e., be enlightened] and then you will know that matter within you." Coming across this passage, I understood. My chest naturally was no longer obstructed, I no longer dwelt together with my foe. At that very moment, there was [merely] peace and bliss. By means of this, my wisdom and understanding increased and heightened. I was respected and admired by the assembly [of practitioners]."

五年庚申, 移居松廣山吉祥寺, 領徒作法, 十有一年, 或談道, 或修禪, 安居頭陀, 一依佛律. 四方緇白, 聞風輻湊, 蔚爲盛集. 至有捨名爵捐妻子, 毀服壞形, 命侶而偕來者, 王公士庶, 投名入社, 亦數百人. 師以道自任, 不以人之譽非, 動其心性. 且慈忍善接後流. 雖或悖謬迕意, 猶能憫念攝護, 情不理止, 若慈母之於嬌子然.

In the fifth year, the fifty-seventh year of the sexagenary cycle, [1200], he moved his residence to Kilsang-sa on Songgwang-san, where, for eleven years, he led the practice of his disciples, by either discussing the path, cultivating Sŏn, [holding] monastic retreats, or [practising] dhuta [ascetic exercises], uniformly relying upon the Buddha's vinaya.

Monks and lay people from the four directions heard about [Chinul's] style and converged like clouds gathered in the blue sky. There were even those who renounced fame and rank, and abandoned wives and children, "destroying their clothes and harming their bodies" [i.e., exchanging their secular clothes with the monastic robe, and burning incense on their arms when taking the precepts]. Several hundred arrived together in the company of their peers; princes and dukes, literati and the common people discarded fame and entered the association. The master [exclusively] concerned himself with the [cultivation of] the path, his mind-nature remained unmoved by whether people praised or blamed him. Furthermore, he guided junior

students with compassion and forbearance. Although some perversely and mistakenly disliked his intention, he still managed to have compassion and protect them. His affection was not confined by reason. He was like a compassionate mother tenderly attending to her children.

其勸人誦持, 常以金剛經立法, 演義則意必六祖壇經, 申以華嚴李論, 大慧語錄, 相羽翼. 開門有三種, 曰惺寂等持門, 曰圓頓信解門, 曰徑截門, 依而修行, 信入者多焉. 禪學之盛, 近古莫比.

He encouraged the people [in his assembly] to recite and keep [in mind] at all times the *Diamond Sūtra* as the text upholding the Dharma. For exposing the meaning [of the teaching] it was necessary to have one's intention set on the *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, and for explaining [the teaching] he used Li Tongxuan's *New Treatise on the Huayan Jing* and the *Recorded Sayings of Dahui* as auxiliary texts.

He expounded three kinds of approach [lit., "gates (of the Dharma)"], namely, the gate of equal maintainance of alertness and calmness, the gate of faith and understanding of the complete and sudden [school], and the gate of the shortcut approach. Many engaged in practice according to these [three gates] and [thus] entered in faith. The flourishing of the cultivation of Sŏn [under Chinul] was unmatched in both recent times and in the past.

師又善攝威儀, 牛行虎視, 燕居謹飭, 無惰容止, 至於執勞任力, 恒在衆先. 億寶山之白雲精舍, 積翠庵, 瑞石山之圭峯蘭若, 祖月庵, 皆師之所作, 而往來修禪者也. 上自潛邸, 素重其名, 及卽位, 命號改爲曹溪山修禪社, 御親書題榜. 旣又就錫滿繡袈裟一領, 以褒異之, 篤敬光護之誠, 他無等夷.

The master also aptly maintained a dignified demeanor, having the gait of an ox and the gaze of a tiger. When living leisurely [in the mountains] he remained circumspect, his demeanor being without indolence. He always took the initiative within the assembly in carrying out communal work. He built Paekun chŏngsa [*vihara*] and Chŏkch'ui-am on Ŏkbo-san, the Kyubong hermitage (*āraṇya*) and the Chowŏl-am on Sŏsŏk-san, places where

he continually came and went to cultivate Sŏn. Since the time when the king [Hŭijong] was in his residence before ascending the throne, he always venerated [Chinul's] reputation. Having ascended the throne, he ordered that the name [of the mountain and the monastery] be changed into Chogye-san Susŏn-sa, and the king personsally wrote the [monastery's] name plaque. Then he sent him one fully embroidered robe [*kaṣāya*] as a praise and appreciation of him. His [i.e., the king's] sincerity in venerating and protecting [the master] was without equal [among] other [kings].

初師之來南遊也, 與同學諸子, 約曰, "吾欲逃名, 結香社, 以定慧爲事, 於子等何如." 曰, "末法恐非其時." 師乃慨然長歎曰, "時却可遷, 心性不變, 教法興衰, 乃三乘權學之見耳, 智者應如是乎." 衆皆服曰, "然, 他日結同社, 必號定慧." 及在居祖寺, 果立定慧社, 仍述勸修定慧結社文, 償初志也. 移社松廣, 亦循其名.

When the master first proposed to journey south with his fellow practitioners, he made a pledge, which said,

"I, wishing to escape from fame, form this incense society with [the cultivation of] samādhi and prajñā as its aim. What do you [fellow practitioners] think?" They replied saying, "Since this is the final age of the Dharma, we fear this is no longer the time [for that]." The master then emitted a long sigh, saying, "Times may indeed have changed, but the mind-nature does not change. The flourishing and degeneration of the Dharma-teaching is merely from the viewpoint of the provisional teachings of the three vehicles. How could a wise person reply with something like that!" The whole assembly acquiesced and said, "This is correct! In the future, we shall form a society together and we shall call it [society for cultivating] samādhi and prajñā." And when they resided at Kŏjo-sa, he [i.e., Chinul] eventually established the society for [cultivating] samādhi and prajñā. And so [Chinul] composed the "Encouragement to Practice: The Compact of the Samādhi and Prajñā Community" (*Kwŏnsu chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun*). This was the fulfillment of [Chinul's] original intention. When they moved the society to Songgwang-san, they also adopted that [same] name.

後以隣寺, 有同稱者, 因受朝旨易焉, 所謂修禪社也, 名雖異而義則同也, 師之志, 在定慧如此.

But later, as there was a neighboring monastery bearing the same name [i.e., Kilsang-sa], they received a direction from the (royal) court to change its name to "Susŏn-sa." Although the names are different, their meaning is the same. The master's intention was thus focused on [cultivating] samādhi and prajñā.

大安二年春二月, 因薦母, 設法筵數旬. 時謂社衆曰, "吾住世語法不久, 宜各努力." 俄, 三月二十日示疾, 凡八日而終, 預知也. 前一夕, 就浴室沐浴, 侍者請偈, 因設問, 師從容答話. 夜艾, 迺入方丈, 問答如初. 將曉, 問, "今是何日." 曰, "三月二十七日也." 師具法服盥漱云, "這個眼不是祖眼, 這個鼻不是祖鼻, 這個口不是孃生口, 這個舌不是孃生舌." 令擊法鼓集衆, 策六環錫杖, 步至善法堂, 祝香昇座如常儀.

In the second month of spring in the second year of the Da'an era [1210], as a ritual for his deceased mother, he established a Dharma-feast lasting for several tens of days. At that time, he said to the assembly of monks, "I will not be dwelling in the world to talk about the Dharma for a long time. You should each be diligent and practice hard." Soon afterward, on the twentieth day of the third month, he showed signs of illness, and after a total of eight days, he died, as he had foreknown.

The evening before [his death], he went to the bath room and bathed. His attendant [monk] requested him for a verse and asked him questions, to which the master replied in a calm and composed fashion. At an advanced hour of the night, he then entered in his abbot quarters, where he continued the question and answer session as before. At dawn, he asked, "What day is today?" "It is the twenty-seventh day of the third month." The master, fully dressed in his Dharma robe and having washed his face and rinsed his mouth, said, "These eyes are not the eyes of the patriarch. This nose is not the nose of the patriarch. This mouth is not the mouth produced by one's mother. This tongue is not the tongue produced by one's mother." Having ordered the

Dharma-drum hit and the assembly gathered, he grasped his walking staff with six rings [on top] and walked to the Hall of the Good Dharma [sŏnbŏp tang] where he offered blessings and incense, and ascended the [high] seat as he had customarily done for ordinary rites.

迺振錫, 擧前夕方丈中, 問答語句因緣云, "禪法靈驗, 不可思議. 今日來到這裏, 欲爲大衆說破去也, 爾等不昧一着子問來. 老漢亦不昧一着子答去." 顧視左右, 以手摩之, 曰, "山僧命根, 盡在諸人手裏, 一任諸人." 橫拖倒曳. "有筋骨底出來." 便伸足踞于床, 隨問而答, 言諦義詳, 言辯無礙, 具如臨終記.

Thereupon he shook his staff [in the air] and presented the phrases and words of the question and answer session he had had in the abbot quarters the previous night, saying, "The miraculous efficacy of the teachings of Sŏn is inconceivable. Today I came here wishing to explain it to you thoroughly. If you asked with an undeluded gambit, I [an old fellow] likewise shall reply with an undeluded gambit." Having looked around left and right [into his audience], he rubbed his staff with his hand and said, "My life is entirely in your hands and I leave it up to you." He grasped his staff horizontally and turned it upside down, [saying,] "May the one having sinews and bones [i.e., the person having grasped the truth] come forward!", then he stretched out his feet and sat astride the chair, replying to questions as soon as these were asked. His words were clear and their meaning was detailed. His eloquence was unimpeded, as fully explained in the record of his death.

最後有僧問, "昔日毘耶, 淨名示疾, 今日曹溪牧牛作病, 未審, 是同是別." 師云, "爾學同別來." 迺拈拄杖數下云, "千種萬般, 摠在這裏." 因執杖, 踞床不動, 泊然而逝. [師生於高麗毅宗十二年戊寅, 卽宋高宗紹興二十八年, 金海陵王正隆二年]

At the very last moment there was a monk who asked, "In the past, Vimalakīrti showed signs of illness in Vaiśālī. Today, I wonder if Mokuja [i.e., Chinul] is ill here today on Chogye-san. Is this the same or different [from Vimalakīrti]?" The master said, "You should study whether it is the same or different!" Thereupon he grasped his staff and threw it down several

times, saying, "All things of every kind are all inside this!" Then he grasped his staff and sat cross-legged on the chair, motionless, and he calmly passed away.[3] [The master was born in the twelfth year of King Ŭijong of Koryŏ, mu'in, fifteenth in the sexagenary cycle, corresponding to the twenty-eight year of the Shaoxing era of Emperor Gaozong of the Song, the second year of the Zhenglung of King Hailing of Jin (1158/9)].

門徒設香燈, 供養七日. 顔色如生, 鬚髮漸長. 荼毘拾遺骨, 骨皆五色. 得舍利大者三十粒, 其小者無數, 浮屠于社之北麓. 上, 聞之慟, 謚曰, 佛日普照國師, 塔曰甘露. 閲世五十三齡. 受臘三十有六年. 生平所著, 如結社文, 上堂錄, 法語, 歌頌, 各一卷, 發指宗旨, 咸有可觀.

His disciples performed offerings of incense and lamps for seven days, during which the expression of [the master's] face was as if he was [still] alive, his beard and hair gradually growing longer. After his cremation [jhāpita] his remaining bone fragments were collected. These bone relics all emitted a five-colored radiance. Thirty large śarīra grains and innumerable smaller ones were collected. His stūpa was erected on the northern slope of Susŏn-sa.

The king was profoundly sorrowful when he heard about [the master's death]. He bestowed upon him the posthumous title Puril Pojo Kuksa [National Preceptor Buddha Sun, Shining Ubiquitously] and his stūpa was named Kamno [lit. Sweet Dew, Amṛta]. The master had lived in the world for fifty-three years, a monk for thirty-six years. Among the works he composed during his life are the "Encouragement to Practice: The Compact of the Samādhi and Prajñā Community" [*Kwŏnsu chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun*], his Recorded Formal Sermons [*Sangdang-nok*], his Dharma-sermons [*Pŏbŏ*], and his songs and gathas (Kasong), each in one fascicle. As they promote the

3 (師生於高麗毅宗十二年戊寅 卽宋高宗紹興二十八年 金海陵王正隆二年) The master was born in the fifteenth year of the sexagenary cycle, the twelfth year of the Koryŏ King Ŭijong's reign. This corresponds to the twenty-eighth year of the Shaoxing era of Song Emperor Gaozong, the second year of Zhenglong era of Jinhailing (1098).

tenets of the [Sŏn] school, they all are worth reading.

或曰, "死可大故也." 師能委命乘化, 優遊自肆, 是其中, 必有大過人者也. 然, 語之至道則未也. 何以言之, 蓋老子貴知我者希, 莊周欲行, 不崖異. 古之爲道者, 與人同耳. 其肯自爲詭異奇偉之迹, 以取人知耶. 至如世尊, 號法中王, 神通作用, 遊戲自在, 及其雙林宴寂, 則曰, "吾今背痛, 將入涅槃." 遂右脇累足而化. 又唐隱峯禪師, 倒立而化, 妹有爲尼, 咄曰, "老兄平生, 不循法律, 死便熒惑於人."

Someone said, "As the master died, he has become even more eminent." The master aptly abandoned his life and entered nirvāṇa. He excelled at journeying [through the world] according to his will. For these reasons, he must have been a great being without limits. But this is not such [a great feat] from the viewpoint of the supreme path.

To explain why it is so: Laozi prized the rarity of people knowing themselves over [scholarly] knowledge, Zhuangzi [lit. Zhuang Zhou] wished to live without seeking to stand aloof from others. The ancient practitioners of the path merely acted in the same manner as [common] people.

How could they possibly be proud of the traces of their own extraordinariness and wonderful excellence, and wanting people to know them?

Even the World-Honored One, who was called the Dharma King, who through the function of his supernatural powers possessed self-mastery in journeying [through the world], when he quietly entered into quiescence [nirvāṇa] beneath the twin śāla-trees [in Kuśinagara], said, "Now as my back is painful, I shall enter into nirvāṇa." Thereupon he reclined on his right flank, [stretching out] his legs one upon the other, and entered into nirvāṇa. Also, the Tang Chan master Deng Yinfeng entered into nirvāṇa while performing a handstand. His younger sister, who had become a nun, lamented saying, "Elder brother, you did not abide by the teachings of the Vinaya for all your life, and even dying you confuse people!"

今師之開堂, 示衆已多矣, 死之日, 而迺, 復更鳴鼓集衆, 升座說法, 踞床告滅, 其

於道不爲疣贅乎. 答不然. 夫道之用無方. 而人之行不同, 故曰,“天下一致而百慮, 殊途而同歸.” 若所云者, 知其一, 未知其二也. 且歷代禪門諸祖, 臨終囑法, 必顯神異, 僧史載之詳矣. 至於後之諸師, 升堂說法而就化, 若興善寺之惟寬, 上堂說偈安坐而化, 若首山省念, 遺偈, 剋日上堂說法, 安坐長往, 若瑞峯之志端, 剃髮澡身, 升堂辭衆, 安坐而化, 若大寧之隱微, 上堂說偈而化, 皆可譏耶.

Now the master [Chinul] had many times performed the [ceremony of] opening the hall [on becoming abbot] and instructing the assembly. On the day of his death, he again had the drum sounded and the assembly gathered, he ascended the seat and expounded the Dharma, and then sat cross-legged on the chair and announced his extinction. How can that not be, from the viewpoint of the path, something superfluous [like a wart]? But I reply that such is not the case. The function of the path is without direction, and yet the actions of people are not the same. Therefore it is said, "Under heaven [i.e., in the world] there is a single principle, yet there are hundreds of [different] thoughts. There are [many] different roads, yet they lead back to the same place." [Thus] If someone should say something like this [i.e., that Chinul's death was superfluous], then he only knows the first [part of these propositions], and does not know the second.

Furthermore, the successive generations of Patriarchs of the Sŏn school entrusted the Dharma at the time of death, invariably manifesting supernormal powers. The monastic histories record these in detail. As for later masters [who succeeded these patriarchs], they ascended the hall, expounded the Dharma, and entered into nirvāṇa. For example, [the monk] Weikuan from Xingchan-si ascended the hall, uttered his death poem [gātha], sat quietly [in meditative posture], and entered nirvāṇa. Or the [Chan master] Shoushan Shengnian who [first] bequeated his death poem [gātha], [then] spent the day ascending the hall and expounding the Dharma, and [then] sat quietly and departed for a long voyage [i.e., passed away]. Or the [Chan master] Zhiduan from Ruifeng, who shaved his hair, and washed his body, [then] ascended the hall and announced his departure to the assembly, [then] sat quietly and entered nirvāṇa. Or the [Chan master] Yinwei of Daning, who ascended the hall, uttered his death poem [gātha]

and entered into nirvāṇa. How can all these accounts be slandered [as false]?

嗟乎, 像季之人, 多疑而少信, 非有先覺之士, 以善巧方便, 開示勸導, 生欽慕心, 雖欲發趣聖道, 斯亦難矣. 觀師之心, 亦接機利物之一端也.

Alas! The people in the semblance Dharma age have many doubts and little faith, and there are no leading personalities [i.e., people who have awakened previously] who, by means of skillful means to provide instruction and encourage and lead [others], so that [sentient beings] produce an admiring mind [for Buddhism]. [Thus] although one may want to advance on the noble path, that is indeed very difficult. Having observed the master's mind, [I can say that] he also contributed one aspect in instructing the faculties [i.e., instructing Sŏn students] and in benefitting sentient beings.

師歿之明年, 嗣法沙門惠諶等, 具師之行狀以聞, "願賜所以示後世者." 上曰, "兪." 乃命小臣文其碑. 臣, 業儒而未至者也, 而況於佛心祖印, 方外之談乎. 但迫明命, 無由以辭. 玆扣竭於謏聞, 敢形容於盛美. 其銘曰,

The year following the master's death, his Dharma-heir, the monk [lit., śramaṇa] Hyesim and others provided the master's account of conduct to inform the king, wishing that he bestow [the means, an inscription, to convey the master's memory] to future generations. The king gave his consent and ordered me, his insignificant subject, to compose the text for his stele. As I had studied Confucianism but had yet to reach [an understanding of it], how much more so [would I be ignorant] of the Buddha's mind and the seal of the Patriarchs, a discourse lying outside of my domain? I did so only because I had no reason to decline the urgent order of the king. Thereupon I mobilized my mediocre knowledge and dared to describe [the master's] excellence. The inscription says:

指以標月兮,
月不在指.

言以說法兮,
法不在言.

Pointing with the finger to the moon, the moon is not in the finger; Explaining the Dharma with words, yet the Dharma is not within words.

三乘諸部兮,
隨機差別.
徑截直入兮,
唯有一門.

The three vehicles and the various sections [of the tripitaka] differ in accordance with the faculties [of sentient beings]; The short-cut approach of directly entering [into enlightenment] is the one and only gateway.

牟尼示花兮,
迦葉破顔.
達摩面壁兮,
慧可斷臂.

Śākyamuni showed the flower, Kāśyapa's face broke into a smile; Bodhidharma faced the wall, Huike cut off his arm.

心傳心兮,
不二.
法與法兮,
齊致.

The transmission from mind to mind, there are not two [different minds]; The Dharma [of one patriarch] bestowed [to another patriarch], these are equally the same principle.

眞風兮,

未殄.
何代兮,
乏人.

The true style [of a master] is not extinguished; In which generation will there be a dearth of people [able to preserve it]?

師之身兮,
鶴出籠.
師之心兮,
鏡無塵.

The master's body is like a crane that has come out of a cage; The master's mind is like a mirror without dust.

柯山兮,
啓途.
松社兮,
蛻駕.

On Haga-san he opened the path; In Susŏn-sa on Songgwang-san he cast off the slough of a cicada and ascended into nirvāṇa.

定水淡兮,
湛無波.
慧炬光兮,
光不夜.

The water of the mind being quieted becomes clear, deep as there are no waves on the surface; The torch of wisdom is bright, because of that brightness there is no night.

庭柏兮,

答祖意.
池蓮兮,
演眞宗.

The cypress in the courtyard is the reply to the meaning of the patriarch [Bodhidharma's coming to the East]; The lotus pond expounds the true teaching [of Sŏn].

四衆繞兮,
雜沓.
一音暢兮,
舂舂容.

The fourfold assembly surrounds you, numerous and disorderly [like clouds]; By a single sound you [expound the Dharma] smoothly just like the sound of a bell when struck.

觀死生兮,
如幻.
豈眞妄兮,
殊科.

Visualize birth and death as being like an illusion; How could truth and falsity possibly be different categories?

噫, 師之振錫兮,
萬像都融.
風吹柳絮兮,
雨打梨花.

Alas! The master's shaking of his staff, causes the myriad of phenomena to be fused together; The wind blows over the willow catkins and the rain hits the pear blossoms.

大金, 大安三年, 辛未十二月日, 殿前, 寶昌, 刊, 大金, 崇慶二年, 癸酉四月日, 內侍, 昌樂宮錄事, 臣, 金振, 奉宣, 立石.

Inscribed [on stone] by [the monk] Poch'ang on the presence of the king, on a day of the twelfth month in the eighth year of the sexagenary cycle [1211], the third year of Da'an era in the Great Jin [Empire].

The stone has been erected in compliance with royal orders by the subject Kim Chin, Palace Attendant and Overseer of the Flourising Pleasure Palace, on a day of the fourth month in the tenth year of the sexagenary cycle, the second year of the Chonqing era in the Great Jin (dynasty).

X

STELE INSCRIPTION OF POGAK IRYŎN

(軍威 麟角寺 普覺國尊 靜照塔碑文)

10. Stele Inscription of Pogak Iryŏn

軍威 麟角寺 普覺國尊 靜照塔碑文

Stele inscription of the Chŏngjo Stūpa for the State Venerable Pogak at Ingak-sa in Kunwi

高麗國, 華山, 曹溪宗, 麟角寺, 迦智山下, 普覺國尊碑銘, 幷序.

Stele Inscription and Preface [to the Stūpa of] the State Venerable Pogak at Ingak-sa of the Chogye school and affiliated with the Kaji-san [group], on Hwa-san, [in Ŭihŭng] Koryŏ country.

宣授朝列大夫, 選授翰林直學士, 正憲大夫, 密直司, 左承旨, 國學, 大司成, 文翰, 侍講, 學士, 充史舘, 修撰官, 知制誥, 知版圖司, 事世子, 右諭善, 大夫, 賜紫金魚袋, 臣, 閔漬, 奉勅, 撰.

Compiled upon royal order by the minister Min Chi, appointed [by the Yuan emperor] to Grand Master for Court Precedence, Auxiliary Scholar of the Royal (Confucian) Academy, [and appointed by the Koryŏ king] Grand Master of Correct Reception, Vice Recipient of Edicts in the Royal Secretariat, Rector of the National University, Expositor-in-waiting at the Institute of Literature, Scholar and Senior Compiler appointed to the Historiography Institute, appointed by courtesy as Drafter of Proclamations, Vice Advisor to the Heir Apparent, Grand Master and Recipient of the Purple-and-Gold Fish-Pouch.

夫清鏡濁金, 元非二物. 渾波湛水, 同出一源. 其本同而末異者, 在乎磨與不磨, 動與不動耳. 諸佛衆生, 性亦如是, 但以迷悟爲別, 孰云, 愚智有種. 以至愚望大覺, 勢絶霄壤, 及乎一迴機, 便同本覺. 自迦葉微笑, 達磨西來, 燈燈相續, 直至于今者, 皆以此也. 傳其心, 得其髓.

A clear mirror and unrefined metal are originally not two [different] objects. Turbid waves and clear water come from one and the same source. Their origin being the same while their end is different is just like [a mirror] that is polished or not polished, or like [water] undulating or not undulating. The nature of the buddhas and sentient beings is also like this, the difference being that of delusion and awakening. Who can possibly say that there is [a difference of] kind between ignorance and wisdom? Yet even the ignorant look up [with expectation] to the Great Awakened One, their circumstances being absolutely different like that between heaven and earth. [But] then by one single tracing back to one's faculty, one becomes identical to [the Buddha's] original awakening. From Kāśyapa's smile to Bodhidharma's coming from the West [to China], the transmission of the lamp continued up to the present, all of which was due to this. The [teacher] transmitted the [Buddha's] mind, [the disciples] obtained [the Buddha's] essence.

迴慧日於虞淵, 曜神光於桑域者, 惟我國尊有焉. 國尊, 諱見明, 字晦然, 後易名一然. 俗姓金氏, 慶州章山郡人也, 考諱彦弼, 不仕以師故, 贈左僕射, 妣李氏, 封樂浪郡夫人.

The sun of wisdom returns to the abyss of Yu, the divine brightness [Huike, Shenguang] illuminates one's native place: there is only our State Venerable who has accomplished this. The State Venerable's taboo name was Kyŏnsŏng, his courtesy name was Hoeyŏn. Later his name was changed to Iryŏn. His secular surname was Kim. He was a native of Changsan County in Kyŏngju. His father's name was Ŏnp'il. His father did not serve as an official but acted as a teacher, therefore he was [posthumously] granted the office of Vice Director of the Left. His mother was from the Yi clan, she was [posthumously] installed as Lady of Nangnang County.

初母夢, 日輪入屋, 光射于腹者, 凡三夜, 因而有娠, 泰和丙寅, 六月辛酉, 誕焉. 生而俊邁, 儀表端嚴, 豊準方口, 牛行虎視.

First, his mother dreamt that the disk of the sun entered in her house, its brightness shining into her stomach. This happened for three nights. Consequently she became pregnant and gave birth to him on the xinyou day of the sixth month, the third year of the sexagenary cycle, in the Taihe era [1206]. He was eminent since his birth, his demeanor was correct and strict, his facial features balanced, his mouth taciturn, and he had the gait of an ox and the [piercing] eyesight of a tiger.

小有出塵志, 年甫九歲, 往依海陽無量寺, 始就學而聰警絶倫. 有時, 危坐盡夕, 人異之.

At an early age he had the intention to depart from the secular world. When he just reached the age of nine, he went to Muryang-sa in Haeyang, where he began his studies and his intelligence and sharp wit was matchless. Sometimes, he sat upright throughout the whole of the night. The people were amazed at him.

興定己卯, 就陳田長老大雄, 剃度受具. 於是, 遊歷禪肆, 聲價藉甚, 時輩, 推爲九山四選之首.

In the sixteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1219] in the Xinding era, he shaved his hair and received the full precepts from the Venerable Elder Taeung at Chinjŏn-sa. Thereupon he wandered through the Sŏn meditation halls, his reputation [becoming] immense. At that time, his peers recommended him as the first candidate for the four [levels of] selections of the Nine Mountains school of Sŏn.

丁亥冬, 赴選佛場, 登上上科. 厥後, 寄錫于包山寶幢庵, 心存禪觀.

In the winter of the twenty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle [1227],

he went to attend the monk examinations [lit. the "Buddha-selection place", Sŏnbul-chang] and he passed the highest level examination with the highest score. Thereafter, he moved his residence to Podang-am on P'o-san, where he focused his mind on Sŏn contemplation.

丙申秋, 有兵亂, 師欲避地, 因念文殊五字呪, 以期感應, 忽於壁間, 文殊現身曰, "無住居."

In autumn of the thirty-third year of the sexagenary cycle [1236], as there was war [i.e., the Mongol attacks], the master wished [to find] a location to escape [from the war], so he recited the spell [dhāraṇī] of Mañjuśrī in five characters, hoping for a sympathetic response. Suddenly, from between the space of [the monastery's] wall, Mañjuśrī manifested himself and said, "Dwell at Muju [hermitage]!"

明年夏, 復居是山妙門庵, 庵之北, 有蘭若, 曰無住, 師乃悟前記, 住是庵時, 常以生界不滅, 佛界不增之語, 叅究之, 忽一日, 豁然有悟, 謂人曰, "吾今日, 乃知三界如幻夢, 見大地無纖毫礙."

In the summer of the following year, he again lived on this mountain [i.e., Po-san] in Myomun-am. North of the hermitage was an *āraṇya* called Muju. The master then realized that this [corresponded to Mañjuśrī's] previous prediction. While he lived in this hermitage, he always investigated the teaching [lit., "the word" of the Buddha], "the realm of sentient beings is not extinguished [but] the realm of the Buddha does not increase." One day, he suddenly experienced an awakening. And he [then] said to people, "Today I have realized that the triple world is like an illusory dream, and I see that the whole world is without the slightest hindrance."

是年批授三重大師, 丙午加禪師. 己酉鄭相國晏, 捨南海私第, 爲社, 曰定林, 請師主之, 己未加大禪師.

In that [same] year the court awarded him the title of Triply Exalted Great

Master [samjung taesa]. In the forty-third year of the sexagenary cycle [1246], he was granted the title of Sŏn Master. In the forty-sixth year of the sexagenary cycle [1249], the Counselor-in-chief Chŏng An donated his private residence in Namhae to make it into a temple which was called Chŏngnim-sa, and requested the master to act as its abbot. In the fifty-sixth year of the sexagenary cycle [1259], he was granted the title of Great Sŏn Master.

中統辛酉, 承詔赴京, 住禪月社開堂, 遙嗣牧牛和尙.

In the fifty-eighth year of the sexagenary cycle [1261], in the Zhongtong era, in obeying the royal order, he came to the capital and took residence at Sŏnwŏl-sa, where he performed the opening of the [Dharma] hall ceremony [to become abbot], becoming a distant heir to [the Dharma-lineage of] Master Mok'u [Chinul].

至至元元年秋, 累請南還, 寓居吾魚社. 未幾, 仁弘社主, 萬恢, 讓師主席, 學侶雲臻.

In autumn of the first year of the Zhiyuan era [1264], he was repeatedly asked to return south, so he took up residence at Oŏ-sa. Before long, Manhoe, the abbot of Inhong-sa, handed over the abbotship to the master, and [thus] students [i.e., monks seeking guidance] gathered like clouds.

戊辰夏, 有朝旨, 集禪教名德一百員, 設大藏落成會於雲海寺, 請師主盟, 晝讀金文, 夜談宗趣. 諸家所疑, 師皆剖釋如流, 精義入神, 故無不敬服.

In the summer of the fifth year of the sexagenary cycle [1268], a royal decree was issued to gather one hundred eminent monks from the Sŏn and Kyo schools to perform a ceremony at Unhae-sa celebrating the completion of the carving of the Tripitaka. The master was requested to attend as main supervisor. During the day, sūtras [lit., the texts from the Buddha's golden mouth] were recited, at night the meaning of the [Buddha's] teachings was discussed. Whatever doubts that the various masters [i.e., monks] still

had regarding the teachings, the master solved with smooth analysis and explanation. His [explanation of] the essential meaning enthralled them and therefore they all admired him.

師住仁弘十一年, 是社創搆旣遠, 殿宇皆頽圮, 又且湫隘, 師並重新, 恢廓之, 仍奏于朝, 改號仁興, 宸書題額以賜之. 又於包山東麓, 重葺涌泉寺, 爲佛日社.

In the eleventh year since the master had taken up the abbotship, Inhong-sa had been long founded, and the temple buildings were all on the verge of collapsing and the buildings' foundations had sunken. The master also [wanting] to restore and expand them, repeatedly petitioned to the court, and [as a result] the monastery was restored and renamed Inhŭng-sa. The king himself wrote the monastery's name tablet which he bestowed as a gift. Furthermore, he [the master] restored Yongch'ŏn-sa on the eastern foot of P'o-san, which was renamed Puril-sa.

上, 卽祚四年丁丑, 詔住雲門寺, 大闡玄風. 上, 日深傾注, 以詩寄云.

In the fourteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1277], the fourth year since the [King Ch'ungnyŏl's] enthronement,[1] the King ordered [the master] to assume the abbotship of Unmun-sa, where he greatly promoted the arcane style [of the Sŏn school]. The King's veneration [for the master] deepened daily. He sent him a poem which said,

密傳何必更摳衣,
金地逢招亦是奇.

[1] Ch'ungnyŏl 忠烈 (r. 1274–1308) was the first Koryŏ ruler to be referred to by the title *wang* 王 ("king"). Previous Koryŏ rulers had received temple names with the suffix *cho* 祖 or *chong* 宗 ("revered ancestor") -titles typically reserved for emperors. After Koryŏ became a dependency (lit. "son-in-law state", K. *pumaguk* 駙馬國) of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty, the Yuan emperor Shizu 世祖 (Khubilai Khan) perceived this practice as lowering his own power and ordered that the Koryŏ rulers could not receive such names henceforth.

欲乞璉公邀闕下,
師何長戀白雲枝.

“The secret transmission [of the mind]: how could it necessitate the adjustment of one’s robe [requesting for additional instruction]?
How strange also is the fact that we met on the golden soil [i.e., the monastery’s ground]!
I wish that Sir Liang [i.e., the Chan master Hualian] had accepted the invitation to the imperial palace. How come that you, master, always love [to remain in the mountains where] white clouds cover the branches [of the trees]?”

辛巳夏, 因東征, 駕幸東都, 詔師赴行在, 及至跪請陞座, 倍生崇敬, 因取師佛日結社文, 題押入社.

In the summer of the eighteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1281], because of the eastern expedition [by the Mongols against Japan], as the royal carriage traveled to the Eastern Capital (Tongdo, ie., Kyŏngju), the king ordered the master to accompany him on his journey. While traveling, he requested him to ascend the Dharma seat [i.e., to preach the Dharma], which caused the king to increase his veneration [for the master] greatly. For this reason, he took the text that the master had composed when he formed the association [to practice] at Puril-sa and, having copied it himself, had the text sent to be preserved at Puril-sa.

明年秋, 遣近侍將作尹金頵, 賚詔迎至闕下, 請於大殿說禪, 喜溢龍顏. 勅有司館于廣明寺, 入院日夜半, 有人, 立方丈外曰,“善來者三”,視之無有也, 冬十二月, 乘輿親訪, 咨問法要.

In autumn of the following year [1282], the king dispatched the Court Attendant and head of the Directorate for the Palace Buildings,[2] Kim Kun,

2 See Hucker 708.

to present him with a royal edict inviting him to come to the royal palace, requesting that he explain [the principles of] Sŏn in the main [audience] hall. The king's face was overflowed with happiness. [Then] the king ordered the officials in charge to build special quarters [for the master] at Kwangmyŏng-sa. In the middle of the night following the day in which the master had entered the cloister [newly built for him], there was a person standing outside of the abbot's room who said, "I have well come" three times. But as [the master] looked for that person, he was nowhere to be found. In the twelfth month of winter, the king, riding in his carriage, came personally to visit the master and inquired about the essentials of the Dharma.

明年春, 上謂羣臣曰, "我先王, 皆得釋門德大者, 爲王師, 德又大者, 爲國師, 在否德, 獨無可乎, 今雲門和尙, 道尊德盛, 人所共仰, 豈宜寡人, 獨蒙慈澤, 當与一國共之."

In the spring of the following year [1283], the king said to all his ministers, "All my ancestors and former kings have taken Buddhist monks of great virtue as Royal Preceptors, and those whose virtue was even greater as National Preceptors. How could it be possible that I, of inferior virtue, alone do not do so? Now, Master Unmun's [i.e., Iryŏn] path is respected and his virtue is immense, and all people venerate him. How could it be suitable that I, the king, be the sole receiver of his compassionate favor? It is only appropriate that I venerate him together with the whole country."

於是, 遣右承旨廉承益, 奉綸旨, 請行闔國尊師之禮, 師, 上表固讓, 上復遣使, 牢請至三, 仍命上將軍羅裕等, 冊爲國尊, 號圓徑冲照, 冊訖.

Thereupon he dispatched the Assistant Director of the Right[3] Yŏm Sŭng-ik with a royal decree requesting him to perform the rite of installing the master as the national venerable of the whole country. But the master submitted a letter firmly declining. The king again dispatched an envoy

3 Hucker 8034.

tenaciously requesting up to three times, over and over. [Then] he ordered the Senior General,[4] Na Yu, and others to [escort him to the capital and] install him as national venerable, [awarding him] the title Wŏngyŏng Ch'ungjo [lit. "Perfect Mirror, Soaring Radiance"].

四月辛卯, 迎入大內, 躬率百僚, 行摳衣禮, 改國師爲國尊者, 爲避大朝國師之號也. 師, 素不樂京輦, 又以母老, 乞還舊山, 辭意甚切, 上重違其志, 而允之, 命近侍佐郎, 黃守命, 護行, 下山寧親, 朝野嘆其希有. 明年母卒, 年九十六.

Following his installment, on the *sinmyo* day of the fourth month [1283], he was received in the royal palace, the king himself leading all court officials in performing the rite of lifting up the robe [as a sign of respect]. That the title of National Preceptor had been modified into National Honored One was in order to avoid the title of the National Preceptor of the great dynasty [of the Yuan]. The master never enjoyed [being in] the [busy] capital. Also he requested [permission] to return to his former [abode on Po-]san [so as to take care of his] old mother. His intention to decline was very ardent, yet the king repeatedly went against his wishes and yet [finally] he permitted it, ordering the Adjunct Court Attendant, Hwang Su-myŏng to escort him to his mountain residence so that he could go home and pay respect to his parents. People at court [in the capital] and in the countryside alike exclaimed about the rarity [of his filial piety]. The following year, his mother passed away at the age of ninety-six.

是年朝廷, 以麟角寺, 爲下安之地, 勅近侍金龍劒, 修葺之, 又納土田百餘頃, 以貢常住. 師入麟角, 再闢九山門都會, 叢林之盛, 近古未曾有也.

In that year, the royal court [designated] Ingak-sa as [the master's] place of retirement, and decreed the Court Attendant Kim Yong-il to renovate it. It also offered over a hundred *kyŏng* (hectares) of farmland to be used as

4 Hucker 4982.

permanent property.[5] The master took up residence at Ingak-sa and reopened the general assembly of the Nine Mountains schools of Sŏn. The prosperity of the Buddhist monasteries was unprecedented in recent years or in old times.

越己丑六月, 示疾, 至七月七日, 手寫上大內書, 又命侍者作書, 寄相國廉公, 告以長往, 因與諸禪老, 問答移晷. 是夜, 有長星, 大尺圍, 隕于方丈後. 翌日乙酉晨起, 浴而坐, 謂衆曰, "今日, 當行矣, 不是重日耶." 云 "不是." 曰, "然則可矣." 令僧撾法鼓, 師至善法堂前, 踞禪床, 封印寶, 命掌選別監金成固, 重封畢, 謂曰, 適値天使來, 見老僧末後事.

On the sixth month in the twenty-sixth year of the sexagenary cycle, he showed signs of illness. On the seventh day of the seventh month, he wrote a letter addressed to the royal palace. Also he ordered his attendant monk to compile a letter addressed to the Counselor-in-chief Yŏm Sŭng-ik to inform him of his [impending] "long trip" [i.e., death]. So he engaged for a short while in a question-and-answer session with the various Sŏn monks [lit., Sŏn elders]. That night there was a comet, with the radius of one large foot which fell down behind the abbot's quarters. He got up in the early morning of the next day, washed his face and took a bath, then addressed the assembly, saying, "Today I shall leave. [I hope that] is this not an important day [i.e., a taboo day, when bad things are not to be reported]?" As they replied, "It is not.", he said, "That being so, I can [leave]." He had a monk to beat the Dharma drum. The master arrived in front of the Hall of the Good Law [sŏnpŏp-tang],[6] where he sat on the Sŏn bench and handed over his jewel-seal [of office of National Venerable] and ordered the Special Supervisor in charge of the Selection, Kim Sŏng-ko, to again hand it over [to the king], and then said to him, "May just at this time an imperial envoy come to see my final act."

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5 *Sangju*, literally "Always staying" refers to the permanent property of a monastery, and may include land, buildings, furniture, icons, scriptures, ritual implements, and tools.

6 妙法堂 善法堂 The hall of wonderful dharma, situated in the south-west corner of the Trāyastriṃśas heaven, where the thirty-three devas discuss whether affairs are according to law or truth or to the contrary.

有僧出問, "釋尊示滅於鶴林, 和尚歸眞於麟嶺, 未審, 相去多少." 師拈柱杖, 卓一下云, "相去多少." 進云, "伊麽則, 今古應無墜, 分明在目前." 師又卓一下云, "分明在目前." 進云, "三角麒麟入海中, 空餘片月波心出." 師云, "他日歸來, 且与上人, 重弄一場."

A monk advanced [from the assembly to the master] and asked, "Venerable Śākyamuni entered into extinction in the Crane Grove,[7] your reverence shall return to the truth [i.e., enter into nirvāṇa] on the Unicorn Mountain [i.e., at Ingak-sa]. I wonder how much difference there is between these two events." [Therupon] the master grabbed his staff and struck it down once, saying, "How much difference is there?" A monk came forth and said, "If it is like this, then in the past and in the present the response has been unfailing. It is clearly present before your eyes." The master again struck his staff down once and said, "It is clearly present before your eyes." A monk came forth and said, "The three-horned unicorn enters the ocean, the crescent moon in the empty sky emerges from the heart of the waves." The master said, "When I shall come back on a future day [in a future life], we shall again have fun!"

又有僧問, "和尚百年後, 所須何物." 師云, "只這箇." 進云, "重與君王造箇無縫塔樣, 又且何妨." 師云, "甚麽處去來." 進云, "也須問過." 師云, "知是般事便休."

Again, another monk asked, "Your reverence, what will you need after a hundred years?" The master replied, "There is only this [present time]!" A monk came forth and said, "What harm is there for you in making a seamless stūpa with the king?" The master said, "Which place do you come from and go to?" The monk said, "I had to ask about the essentials [of the Dharma]." The master said, "Since you know about this sort of matters, let's stop at that."

又有僧問, "和尚, 在世如無世, 視身如無身, 何妨住世, 轉大法輪." 師云, "隨處作佛事."

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7 Haolin 鶴林 or Haoshu 鶴樹 Crane Grove, a name for the place where Śākyamuni died, when the trees burst into white blossoms resembling a flock of white cranes.

Also, there was another monk who asked, "Reverend, your being in the world is like there is no world. Seeing your body is like as if there is no body. What hinders you from [further] remaining in the world and turn the great Dharma-wheel?" The master said, "Wherever I am, [whether in the world or in another realm] I perform Buddha's work."

問答罷, 師云, 諸禪德, "日日報之, 痛痒底, 不痛痒底, 模糊未辨." 乃拈拄杖, 卓一下云, "這箇是痛底." 又卓一下云, "這箇是不痛底." 又卓一下云, "這箇是痛底, 是不痛底, 試辨看." 便下座, 歸方丈, 又坐小禪床, 言笑自若. 俄頃, 手結金剛印, 泊然示滅, 有五色光, 起方丈後, 直如幢, 其端煜煜如炎火, 上有白雲如蓋, 指天而去. 時秋暑方熾.

Having [thus] concluded the question-and-answer session, the master said, "Sŏn virtuosi, do report about your daily practice. Whether you are sore or not, this is something vague and not distinguished yet." Then he lifted his staff and hit it on the floor saying, "This is painful." Again he hit his staff on the floor, saying, "This is not painful." Again, he hit his staff on the floor, saying, "Is this painful or is this not painful? Try to distinguish them!" Then he descended from the teacher's seat and returned to the abbot's quarters. He sat there on his small meditation seat, talking and smiling with self-composure. After a little while, he formed with his hands the adamantine seal and, in a calm manner, entered into annihiliation. A five-colored brightness arose from the rear of the abbot's quarters, straight like a flagpole, its extremity dazzling like a scorching fire. Above there were white clouds like an umbrella. It pointed to heaven and then disappeared. The time [of this happening] was autumn, when the heat was still severe.

顔貌鮮白, 支體瑩澤, 屈伸如生. 遠近觀者如堵. 丁亥闍維, 拾靈骨, 置于禪室中, 門人, 賫遺狀印寶, 乘傳以聞. 上, 震悼, 遣判觀候署事令倜, 展飾終之禮, 又命按廉使, 監護喪事, 仍降制謚曰, 普覺, 塔曰靜照.

[The master's] facial features were fresh and pure, his limbs lustrous and flexible, as if he still was alive. Those who came to see him from far and

near [were so numerous] as to be like a wall. On the chŏnghae day he was cremated and his numinous bones were collected and placed in the Sŏn-hall. His disciples presented his posthumous manuscripts and jeweled-seal [of office as national venerable] to a royal courier so that the king heard of it. [Upon hearing about the master's death], the king was shocked and grieved, and dispatched the Supervisor of the Directorate of Astronomy to perform with solemnity the posthumous rites [for the master]. He also ordered the surveillance commissioner [of the province], to supervise the funeral arrangements, and then granted him the posthumous title 'Pogak' and the stūpa title 'Chŏngjo' [lit., "Calm Brightness"].

十月辛酉, 塔于寺之東崗, 享年八十四, 臘七十一. 師爲人, 言無戲謔, 性無緣飾. 以眞情遇物, 處衆若獨. 居尊若卑, 於學, 不由師訓, 自然通曉.

On the sinyu day of the tenth month, the stūpa was erected on a hill east of the monastery [i.e., Ingak-sa]. He died at the age of eighty-four and had been a monk for seventy-one years. When the master spoke to people, he never joked. His nature was unembellished and so he displayed sincere feelings whenever dealing with sentient beings. When he lived among the assembly [of monks], it was as if he was solitary, when he was occupying the position of National Honored One, he preserved an humble attitude. Concerning his study, he did not rely on the instructions of a master, but thoroughly understood [it] naturally [by himself].

旣入道穩實而縱之, 以無礙辯, 至古人之機緣語句, 盤根错節, 渦旋波險處, 抉剔疏鑿, 恢恢焉, 游刃有餘. 又於禪悅之餘, 再閱藏經, 窮究諸家章疏, 旁涉儒書, 兼貫百家, 而隨方利物, 妙用縱横. 凡五十年間, 爲法道稱首, 隨所住處, 皆爭景慕.

Having entered the path [i.e., achieved awakening], he steadily practiced it freely. With unobstructed eloquence, when he came to the sayings that were triggers [for enlightenment] of the ancients [i.e., past Sŏn Masters], which were complicated and difficult to deal with [lit., "with twisted roots and gnarled branches"] and were states of whirlpools and dangerous waves,

he selected and discarded, chiseling out [i.e., interpreting the difficult passages of the teachings] with his vast [erudition] and with the ease of someone handling a butcher's cleaver with expertise. Furthermore, in his spare time from rejoicing in Sŏn [practice], he reread the repository of scriptures [i.e., the Tripitaka], [and] thoroughly investigated the commentaries [on scriptures] by various exegetes. On the side, he extensively read Confucian writings, additionally gaining a thorough understanding of the various [Chinese classical] philosophers. And everywhere he benefitted sentient beings through his sublime function he displayed at will. The path of the Dharma which he practiced for a period of over fifty years can be referred to as being of the foremost excellence. Wherever he was dwelling, everybody vied to admire him.

唯以未叅堂下, 爲耻, 雖魁傑自負者, 但受遺芳餘潤, 則莫不心醉而自失焉. 養母純孝, 慕睦州陳尊宿之風. 自號睦庵, 年及耄期, 聰明不小衰, 敎人不倦, 非至德眞慈, 孰能如是乎.

Those who did not [manage to] visit the Venerable [master in the hall] were ashamed. All of those self-conceited luminaries who, merely by receiving his posthumous teaching that he had extended to them [lit., copiously soaked them with] were fascinated and dazzled. His care of his mother was [an example of] pure filial piety. He admired the style of Chen Zunsu [i.e., Daoming) from Muzhou. [Thus] he gave himself the style Mok'am [i.e., "Mok" being the character from Muzhou's "Mu"]. Even when he was in his eighties, his intelligence did not diminish or decline. He never became tired of teaching people. Who can possibly be like this, unless he has the highest virtue and genuine compassion!

初龍劒之來也, 馬山驛吏, 夢人曰, "明日當有天使, 修雲無竭菩薩住處行過此." 明日果至, 以師之行, 己利人觀之, 是夢豈虛也哉. 其餘異跡奇夢頗多, 恐涉語恠, 故略之.

First, when Kim Yong-il came [to restore Ingak-sa], the postmaster of

Masan dreamt that a person said, "Tomorrow, there will be a royal envoy who will pass by here on his way to restoring the abode of bodhisattva Dharmodgata." The next day, indeed this was the case, as the master passed by. Having observed the fact that he had already benefited people, how could this dream possibly be empty! There are very many other miracles and strange dreams, but as I fear being implicated in telling strange stories, I have omitted them [here].

師之所著, 有語錄二卷, 偈頌雜著三卷, 其所編修, 有重編曹洞五位二卷, 祖派圖二卷, 大藏須知錄三卷, 諸乘法數七卷, 祖庭事苑三十卷, 禪門拈頌事苑三十卷等, 百餘卷, 行于世. 門人, 雲門寺住持大禪師清玢, 狀師之行, 聞于上. 上, 令臣撰辭, 臣, 學識荒淺, 不足以光揚至德, 故過延數年, 請旣不已, 命亦難忤, 謹爲之序而銘之, 曰,

Among the master's works there are his "Recorded Sayings" in two fascicles, Stanzas (/Gāthas) and Miscellaneous Writings in three fascicles. Among his compilations are the "Recompilation of the Five Ranks of Caodong" [*Chungpy'ŏn Chodong o'i*] in two fascicles, "Diagram of the Lineages of the Patriarchs" [*Chop'a to*] in two fascicles, "Records of what should be known in the Tripitaka" [*Taejang suchi nok*] in three fascicles, "Dharmic Categories of the Vehicles" [*Chosŏng pŏpsu*] in seven fascicles, "Collection of Notes on the Patriarchal Court" [*Chojŏng sawŏn*] in thirty fascicles, "Collection of Notes on the Evaluating Verses of Sŏn" [*Sŏnmun yŏmsong sawŏn*] in thirty fascicles, and others, a total of over hundred fascicles which were circulated in the world. His disciple, the great Sŏn Master Ch'ŏngbun, abbot of Unmun-sa, published the master's account of conduct to inform the king. The king then ordered me to compose this inscription, but my learning being uncultivated and shallow, is not sufficient to exalt the [master's] highest virtue. Therefore I postponed [this task] for several years, but as [his disciples'] requests did not end and as the [king's] order was difficult to disobey, I respectfully composed this preface and the inscription, as follows:

勝幡西振,
舌覆大千.
唯是法印,
密付單傳.

You shook the triumphant flag of the West [i.e., the Buddhist teachings from India], your tongue [i.e., eloquent exposition of Buddhism] covers the chiliocosm.
Only this seal of the Dharma [i.e., Sŏn] is secretly conferred to a single [lineage].

竺乾列宿,
中夏五葉,
世隔人同,
光光相接.

In India there was a line of elder [i.e., the Sŏn lineage],[8] in China, the five generations [of patriarchs];
Although the ages separate, the people are the same, the [lamp] light connects to [lamp] light.

曹溪一派,
東浸扶桑,
孕生智日,
我師克昌.

8 二十八宿 *The twenty-eight nakṣatras or constellations*, divided into four mansions of seven each, referred to East, or Spring; South, Summer; West, Autumn; and North, Winter. The month-names derived from them differ slightly in form. East: 角 Citrā, 亢 Niṣṭyā (or Svāti), 氐 Viśākhā, 房 Anurādhā, 心 Rohiṇī, Jyeṣṭhaghnī (or Jyesthā), 尾 Mūlabarhaṇī (or Mūla), 箕 Pūrva-Aṣādha. North: 斗 Uttara-Aṣāḍhā, 牛 Abhijit, 女 Śravaṇā, 盧 Śraviṣṇha (or Dhaniṣṭhā) 危 Śatabhiṣā, 室 Pūrva-Proṣṭhapada, 壁 Uttara-Proṣṭhapada. West: 奎 Revatī, 婁 Aśvayuj (or Aśvinī), 胃 Apabharaṇī (or Bharaṇī), 昴 Kṛttikā, 畢 Rohiṇī, 觜 Invakā (or Mṛgaśiras), 參 Bāhu (or Ārdrā). South: 井 Punarvasu, 鬼 Tiṣya (or Puṣya), 柳 Aśleṣā, 星 Maghā, 張 Pūrva-Phalgunī, 翼 Uttara-Phalgunī, 軫 Hastā.

The one school of Caoxi [i.e., the sixth patriarch Huineng] flowed east, soaking the country of Fusang [here: Korea];
Conceiving and giving birth to the sun of wisdom, our master made it shine.

去聖逾遠,
世道交喪,
不有至人,
羣生安仰.

The Noble One [i.e., the Buddha] having departed and gone far away beyond [this world, into nirvāṇa], [the people] in the secular paths are grieved;
As there is no accomplished person [anymore] to which sentient beings can look up to [for guidance].

惟師之出,
本爲利他.
學窮內外,
機應萬差.

There is only the manifestation of our master in the world, whose original vow is to benefit other [sentient] beings;
His erudition thoroughly extends through the inner and outer [Buddhist teachings], his faculty responding to a myriad of different capacities.

曉了諸家,
搜玄索妙,
剖釋衆疑,
如鏡斯照.

He clearly understood the philosophers, and sought the profound and the sublime.

He interpreted and resolved all doubts, [clear] as the reflection of a mirror.

禪林虎嘯,
敎海龍吟.
飈起雲合,
學侶駸駸.

He is like the tiger's roar within the forest of Sŏn [i.e., the Sŏn community], and like the dragon's chant within the ocean of Kyo [i.e., the Kyo community].
He is like a soaring storm gathering clouds, his fellow students rushing towards him.

拔陷拯淪,
玄功盖代.
五十年間,
被人推戴.

He rescues [sentient beings] from the traps and saves them from drowning, his arcane merit surpasses [shelters] generations;
During a period of fifty years, he was acclaimed as a leader [i.e., National Venerable] by the people.

上將請益,
思共元元.
冊爲國尊,
尊中又尊.

The king requested him for additional instruction, thus sharing the thought of the common people. Installed as National Venerable, he became the most venerated among those who were venerated.

寶藏當街,
慈航當渡.
窮子始歸,
迷津爭赴.

He was a treasure trove in the streets, the ship of compassion that will ferry over;
Like the poor son having returned home, how could one again stray away from the right path!

長星忽墜,
法棟已摧,
去來由己,
其去何催.

As the comet suddenly fell to earth [at his death], the ridgepole of the Dharma had already crumbled;
As he already achieved freedom of coming and going, what hurry could he have to leave?

眞空不空,
妙有非有.
絶跡離名,
然後可久.

True emptiness is not empty, sublime existence is not existing;
Only after cutting off traces and separating oneself from names can one last for a long time.

上命旣迫,
臣無以辭,
把龜毛筆,
書沒字碑.

The king's order being urgent, I had no way to decline.
I took the brush [lit. tortoise-hair brush] and wrote the inscription without characters.

劫火洞燒,
山河皆燼,
此碑獨存,
斯文不磷.

When the cosmic fire [i.e., the fire in the kalpa of destruction] thoroughly burns, and mountains and rivers [i.e., the landscape] are all reduced to ashes.
Alone this stele shall be preserved, and its inscription shall not erode.

元貞元年, 乙未八月日, 門人, 沙門竹虛, 奉勅, 集晋右將軍, 王羲之書, 門人, 內願堂兼住持, 通奧眞靜大禪師, 淸玢, 立石.

On a day of the eighth month in the first year of the Yuanzhen era, the thirty-second year of the sexagenary cycle [1295], written out in the script of Wang Xizhi, the general of the right of the Jin [dynasty], by the disciple and śramana Chukhŏ, in compliance with a royal edict. Stele erected by the disciple Ch'ŏngbun, [supervisor of] the royal chapel and abbot, great Sŏn Master T'ong'o Chinjŏng.

普覺國尊碑陰記 Reverse inscription.

寶鏡寺住持, 通奧眞靜大禪師, 山立, 述.

Composed by the abbot of Pogyŏng-sa, the great Sŏn Master T'ong'o Chinjŏng.

新天子, 卽祚元年, 乙未夏, 四月初, 麟角長老, 遇余曰, "先師入滅, 忽忽六七年矣.

國朝恩禮, 渝, 命重臣撰碑, 勒諸琬琰, 樹于本院, 仍勅門徒, 替代相承, 以奉香祀, 飾終之禮, 畢矣. 列公徒碑之陰, 使後世, 知絡誦副墨, 元有由緒, 子能爲吾輩, 記之乎." 余頷之曰, "善."

At the beginning of the fourth month in the summer of the thirty-second year of the sexagenary cycle, the first year when the new emperor [Chengzong] had ascended the throne [1295], the Elder [monk] of Ingak[-sa], visited me and said, "All of a sudden, six or seven years have passed since [my] former teacher [Iryŏn] entered into extinction. The reigning dynasty's favor and courtesy remained unchanged and ordered that a high-ranking official compose an inscription [for the master's stele], to be carved on exquisite jade stone and erected in this monastery [i.e., Ingak-sa]. Also it was ordered that his disciples for continuous generations upheld [his memory] by offering incense after that rite for his posthumous memory had been completed. His monk-disciples were listed on the reverse side of the stele, to inform later generations that for [the examples of] Luo Song and Fu Mo[9] originally had a reason. You are able to record this for us [the disciples of Iryŏn]." I nodded [in approval] to it and said, "Good."

國尊在世時, 山立, 以因緣差奪, 未獲詣門徒之列, 常以爲恨, 幸託不朽之囑, 庶亦結當來攀附之, 敢不承命, 謹稽首拜手, 再拜而言曰, 和尙門風, 廣大悉備, 不可得而思議也. 則止曰, 一國尊之, 衆人師之, 可也, 然, 尊之焉, 師之焉, 未必不由醢醯而蚋聚. 要其所自來, 但履踐篤實, 一去來覺夢等, 彼已, 智悲行願, 喜有所感而致之耳.

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9 Luo Song 絡誦 and Fu Mo 副墨 are two individuals mentioned in the *Dazongshi* 大宗師 Chapter of the *Zhuangzi*:

> 南伯子葵曰:「子獨惡乎聞之?」曰:「聞諸副墨之子, 副墨之子聞諸洛誦之孫, 洛誦之孫聞之瞻明, 瞻明聞之聶許, 聶許聞之需役, 需役聞之於謳, 於謳聞之玄冥, 玄冥聞之參寥, 參寥聞之疑始。」
>
> Nan Bo Zi Kui asked, "And how did you, being alone (without any teacher), learn all this?"' 'I learned it,' was the reply, 'from the son of Fu Mo; he learned it from the grandson of Luo Ssong; he learned it from Zhan Ming; he learned it from Nie Xu; he, from Xu Yu; he, from Ou; he, from Xuan Ming; he, from Shen Liao; and he learned it from Yi Shi.'

When the State Venerable was alive, Sallip failed to seize the good opportunity [lit. the primary and secondary karmic connection] and did not obtain access to the ranks of [Iryŏn's] disciples. He always regretted this. Fortunately, he was entrusted with the undecaying request [i.e., to establish a stele for the eternal memory of Iryŏn]. Also, as he hoped to form a connection [with the master] in the future, how could he dare not carry out that order? He solemnly bowed his head and with palms together made repeated prostrations, and then said, "The master's [Iryŏn] style [of teaching] is extensive and great, endowed with everything, and unobtainable by means of thinking or deliberation [i.e., inconceivable], and so one has to stop talking. The entire country venerated him, all people took him as their teacher. Indeed it was remarkable. But in venerating him and taking him as their teacher, it was not necessarily that they were like gnats gathering because of pickled meat. The essential reason for [their] coming was that he [the master] merely practised seriously and sincerely. Having awakened [to the fact that] coming and going [i.e., life and death] are like a dream, his wisdom and compassion, practices and vows were merely the result of his obtained [awakening]."

今案行狀, 於其終也, 辭衆斂目, 氣絶已久, 今禪源頂公, 失聲曰, 立塔之所, 未暇諮禀, 悔將何及, 衆辭皆同. 師從寂定中, 安詳而起, 顧謂衆曰, "此去東南, 行四五許里, 有林麓, 起伏隱處, 若古塚, 是眞吉祥之地, 可安置也." 復斂目如初. 撼之已逝矣, 事涉怪異, 碑文略之.

Now looking at his account of conduct, when he approached the time of his death, he took his leave from the assembly [of monks] and closed his eyes. Now, long after he [Iryŏn] stopped breathing, the Venerable Chŏng of Sŏnwŏn[-sa] involuntarily cried while saying, "I did not have the leisure to consult about the location for erecting the stūpa. What use is there in regretting now?" The assembly lamented together. [At that time,] the master calmly and attentively arose from his quiescent samādhi [i.e., from death], looked at the assembly and addressed it, saying, "If you go approximately four or five li south-east from here, there is a forested foothill. The topography [lit.

up and down] of this hidden place is like that of an old burial mound. This is truly an auspicious place. It is appropriate for enshrining [me]." [Then] again he closed his eyes as before. [The monks] shook him, but he had already passed away. As these events involve the strange and marvelous, they have been omitted from the stele inscription.

昔有廣福禪者, 臨茶毗於柴棚上, 復起, 囑維那, 藍行者, 米錢. 史傳稱, 又何疑也, 又茶毗, 將入塔, 今雲興印公, 住庵時, 適夢師至迎勞問所曰, "茶毗而復起, 此理如何." 師云, "不死故." 進云, "恁麼則, 火不能燒." 師云, "如是如是." 又問, "明日立塔, 未審, 師還入也無." 師云 "入." 進云, "與麼則, 塔却活和尚也." 答語不記. 又問, □□□□ "覺夢同列", 答云 "同." 雲興印公, 覺而異之曰, "茶毘還立塔, 卽入, 清風去來, 白雲出沒, 其惟至人乎, 乃作讚以追敬之.

Formerly, there was the Sŏn monk Kwangbok who, when he was placed on a pile of firewood to be cremated, arose again. He instructed the rector [of the monastery] and the monastery postulants to [distribute] the monastery's [saṃghārāma] rice and money [to those in need]. As the chronicles have transmitted such tales, what doubt can there be [regarding their veracity]? Furthermore, after [Iryŏn's] cremation when [his relics] were about to be enshrined in the stūpa, the master In, now at Unhŭng-sa, then dwelling at [that] hermitage, at that time dreamt that the master [Iryŏn] came [to see him]. He welcomed him and asked him, "What is the reason that you rose up again [before your] cremation?" The master said, "Because I was not [yet] dead." He [Master In] further said, "In that case, the fire could not burn." The master said, "It is so. It is so." Again, he asked, "Tomorrow the stūpa will be erected. I wonder whether you, master, will enter it or not." The master said, "I will enter it." He further said, "If it is like this, then will you still be alive in the stūpa, reverend?" The words in reply have not been recorded. Again, he asked, "□□□□ is being awake and dreaming the same kind?" He replied, saying, "They are the same." Venerable In of Inhŭng-sa woke up [from his dream] and considering this strange, he said, "[His] cremation and his entering the stūpa after it was erected [is like] the coming and going of the cool breeze, [or like] the appearing and disappearing of white clouds. That is

only [possible] for a saint [lit. a accomplished person]!" Then he compiled an eulogy to posthumously honor him.

又山立, 伏覩機緣, 頗異尋常, 以爲凡夫地上, 必不能至是, 他是何等位中人耶, 常自懷疑. 一日, 夢至古刹, 當時, 設寶蓮花座, 師坐於其上, 似若休息頃之, 下座, 徐步遲際, 山立, 與仁興麟公, 隨之. 仁興, 謂余曰, "你看我和尙, 已證聖果故, 跣足不穿." 山立, 心敬之, 前疑氷釋.

Furthermore, Sallip respectfully observed that [Iryŏn's] faculties and conditions differed remarkably from the average, and that on the level of a common [unawakened] person, it was absolutely impossible to reach such a level [of accomplishment]. He [Sallip] was always harboring doubts about himself as to which stage he was in [i.e., which Bodhisattva stage he had reached]. One day, he dreamt that he went to an old monastery, where, at that very moment, [a ceremony of] establishing a jeweled lotus flower seat [had been performed] and the master was sitting on its top. It seemed as if he was resting for a while. [Then] he descended from his seat and slowly walked to the perimeter [of the monastery's courtyard]. Sallip and Venerable In from Inhŭng-sa followed him. [In from] Inhŭng[-sa] said to me, "Look at our reverend. He has already realized the fruition of sainthood. Therefore, [even though he walks] barefooted, his feet are not pierced." [Thus] Sallip revered him and his previous doubts dissolved like melted ice.

據此數段, 最後因緣, 雖曰, 夫子之牆, 數仞, 亦可窺其髣髴矣. 所以云, '一去來同覺夢.'

According to these several paragraphs, these were the causes and conditions at the very last [moment prior to death]. Although it is said that the wall of Confucius' house is several fathoms high [i.e., a metaphor for eminent virtue], one yet can glance at his similarity. Therefore it is said that one [round of] coming and going [i.e., birth and death] is like being awake and dreaming.

神人, 稱符兵而迎衛, 山靈, 告檀越而輸粮, 端坐而火燄, 逆吹, 臨去而金幢, 倒地, 如斯靈蹤異瑞, 皆聖末邊事, 此不具引. 或曰, 如上數事, 是皆昏擾夢, 想感或拂棒喝之曰, 不然, 或昏擾平界, 常夢五十日, 一覺, 以覺時爲虛, 夢時爲實則, 此覺夢虛實, 亦未可定.

A divine person called himself Garrison Militia[10] and escorted him. The mountain spirit told the patrons to donate victuals [to the monk(s)]. As he sat straight [on the cremation platform], the flames [of the pyre] were blown in the opposite direction. When he was about to pass away, the golden flagpole fell down to the ground. These numinous signs and strange auspicious omens are all trivial concerns to the saints. [Thus] these have not been fully cited.

Some said that the above-mentioned events are all confusing dreams and impressions. Someone hit him with a staff and shouted at him, "It is not so, they are troubling a peaceful world." [But the monk] constantly dreamt [this] for fifty days. When he woke up once, he viewed the time he was awake as false and the time he was dreaming as being true. So it is not possible to decide what [corresponds to] being awaken and dreaming, what is false and true.

又我國尊, 親證三世如幻夢, 出生入死, 常行夢幻佛事, 此亦, 師之慈化夢幻衆生也, 有能至是, 何等懷疑, 何致疑於其間乎. 斯皆黑白, 所以, 愛慕歸附, 如有驅策, 而不能以己者也. 其常隨親附, 得皮得髓, 副法諸德, 執事弟子, 幷受法乳, 卿士大夫, 具列如後.

Furthermore, our State Venerable himself realized that the three time periods are like an illusory dream. Whether he was born or died, he constantly performed dream-like and illusory Buddhist activities. This also was the master's compassionate transformation of dream-like and illusory sentient beings. How could you doubt that he could do this? How could one raise doubts between [what is real and false]? These monks and lay people therefore admired and were devoted [to the master]. Even if they should be expelled or whipped, they could not be stopped [from venerating him]. They

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constantly followed and closely relied on him, to obtain his skin or to obtain his marrow [superficial and deep understanding]. The virtuous [monks] who assisted with [propagating] the Dharma, the disciples who managed the [monastery's] affairs, and the ministers, scholars, and literati receiving his Dharma-milk are fully listed as follows.

大禪師
靈覺寺 宏訓,
寶鏡寺 神可,
迦智寺 慧林,
麻谷社 守倪,
法興寺 旱雲,
仁興社 禪麟,
迦智寺 月藏,
雲興社 洞愚,
朱勒寺 永怡,
龍巖寺 淵如,
花藏社 六藏,
師子院 志于,
深山寺 冲淵,
無爲寺 寶精,
普淵寺 法悅,
海龍寺 勁芬,
天龍社 谷之,
麟角寺 清玢,
雲住寺 惠如.

Great Sŏn Masters:

Kwoenghun of Yŏnggak-sa, Sin'ga of Pogyŏng-sa, Hyerin of Kaji-sa, Suye of Magok-sa, Han'un of Pŏphŭng-sa, Sŏllin of Inhŭng-sa, Wŏlchang of Kaji-sa, Tong'u of Unhŭng-sa, Yŏng'i of Churŭk-sa, Yŏn'yŏ of Yong'am-sa, Yukchang of Hwajang-sa, Chi'u of Saja-wŏn, Ch'ung'yŏn of Simsan-sa, Pojŏng of Muwi-sa, Pŏbyŏl of Poyŏn-sa, Kyŏngbun of Haeryong-sa, Kokchi

of Ch'ŏllyong-sa, Ch'ŏngbun of Ingak-sa, Hyeyŏ of Unju-sa.

禪師
見巖社 覺靈,
桃源社 慈一,
祖嵓社 之純,
登億寺 大因,
妙德寺 禪演,
載岳社 禪錟,
月星寺 立其,
香山寺 天怡,
龍華寺 呂桓,
吾魚社 戒岑,
道峯寺 守琛,
中嶺寺 冲悟,
師子院 志于,
深山寺 冲淵,
瓊嵓寺 守淵,
兄巖寺 慈忍,
清源寺 仁應,
瑩原寺 信丘,
普門社 灰喜,
居祖社 天杲,
麟角寺 定生,
智論寺 玄安,
雲住寺 清遠,
佛日社 英淑.

Sŏn Masters:

Kangnyŏng of Kyŏn'am-sa, Cha'il of Towŏn-sa, Chisun of Cho'am-sa, Taein of Tŭng'ŏk-sa, Sŏn'yŏn of Myodŏk-sa, Sŏn'yŏm of Chae'ak-sa, Ipki of Wŏlsŏng-sa, Ch'ŏn'i of Hyangsan-sa, Yŏhwan of Yonghwa-sa, Kyejam of Oŏ-sa, Such'im of Tobong-sa, Ch'ung'o of Chungnyŏng-sa, Chi'u of Saja-

wŏn, Ch'ung'yŏn of Simsan-sa, Suyŏn of Kyŏng'am-sa, Cha'in of Hyŏng'am-sa, In'ŭng of Ch'ŏng'wŏn-sa, Sin'gu of Hyŏngwŏn-sa, Hoehŭi of Pomun-sa, Ch'ŏn'go of Kŏjo-sa, Chŏngsaeng of Ingak-sa. Hyŏn'an of Chiron-sa, Ch'ŏngwŏn of Unju-sa, Yŏngsuk of Puril-sa.

首座
弘化寺 宣印,
法緣寺 印西.

Head Seats:
Sŏn'in of Honghwa-sa, Insŏ of Pŏbyŏn-sa,

山林
元應, 心賁, 禪朗, 天朴,
時守, 知恢, 行伊, 可月,
禪璉, 大迷, 聞一, 松智,
祖南, 仁照, 悅如, 戒崇,
雲其, 志因, 孜信, 旋息,
瑩其, 心贊, 肉幻, 神閑,
夢玄, 元希, 幻雲, 宣弘,
祖閑, 宏智, 弘令, 由已,
可恒, 竹虛, 兌宜, 神日,
天宏, 日卑, 英印, 摩訶.

[Monks in charge of] Mountain Monasteries:
Wŏn'ŭng, Simbun, Sŏllang, Ch'ŏnbak, Sisu, Chihoe, Haeng'i, Kawŏl, Sŏllyŏn, Taemi, Mun'il, Songji, Cho'nam, Injo, Yŏr'yŏ, Kyesung, Sŏlgi [Un'gi], Chi'in, Chasin, Sŏnsik, Yŏnggi, Simch'an, Yukhwan, Sin'han, Mong'hyŏn, Hwan'un, Sŏnhong, Chohan, Koengji, Hongnyŏng, Yu'gi, Kahang, Ch'ukhŏ, T'aeŭi, Sin'il, Ch'ŏngoeng, Ilbi, Yŏng'in, Maha.

三重

心聞, 智慈, 由壯, 神英,
西去, 景伊, 曉聰, 可千,
大休, 性賢, 湛之, 自松,
太印, 自侶, 仁正, 贊英,
良之, 夢由, 月珠, 大眞,
宗資, 祖宣.

Triply Exalted Masters:

Simmun, Chija, Yujang, Sin'yŏng, Sŏgŏ, Kyŏng'i, Injŏng, Ch'an'yŏng, Yangji, Mong'yu, Wŏlju, Taejin, Tae'il, Hyŏnji, Tŏksu, Sillyŏng, Tohan, Hongjo, Choun, Hongmin, Ka'gwan, Kayŏl, Ka'an, Koeng'u, Pŏpsang, Chi□, Chosun, Naehwan, Sinhan, Wŏnhŭi, Chuhwan, Mongnip, Sŏnsik, Hyŏnggi, Simch'an, Hyoch'ong, Kach'ŏn, Taehyu, Sŏng'hyŏn, Tamji, Chasong, T'aein, Char'yŏ, Injŏng, Ch'an'yŏng, Yangji, Mong'yu, Wŏlju, Taejin, Chongja, Chosŏn.

大選
玄智, 德守, 信令, 道閑,
弘訥, 祖云, 中契, 坦弘,
鹿之, 性逈, 智桓, 祖松,
日桓.

[Monks having passed the] Great Selection:

Hyŏnji, Tŏksu, Sillyŏng, Tohan, Hongnul, Choun, Chunggye, T'anhong, Nokchi, Sŏng'i, Chihwan, Chosong, Irhwan.

入選
弘敏, 可觀, 可悅, 可安,
宏右, 法常, 知永, 祖詢,
令月, 信在, 令世, 覺生,
智玄, 昇遠.

[Monks having passed the] Great Selection:

Hongmin, Ka'gwan, Kayŏl, Ka'an, Koeng'u, Pŏpsang, Chiyŏng, Chosun, Yŏngwŏl, Sinjae, Yŏngse, Kaksaeng, Chihyŏn, Sŭngwŏn.

參學
日廻, 竹之, 志溫, 可弘, 性廻,
印昭, 益玄, 白如, 神贊, 覺玄,
守訥, 令規, 仁渙, 閑世, 孝大,
廻正, 善平, 明戒, 道淵, 令印,
信如, 玄照, 仁元, 學山, 志安,
遠宣, 法奇, 中世, 惠見, 眞眼.

Consulting students:
Irhoe, Chukchi, Chion, Kahong, Sŏnghoe, Inso, Ikhyŏn, Paek'yŏ, Sinch'an, Kakhyŏn, Su'nul, Yŏnggyu, Inhwan, Hanse, Hyodae, Hoejŏng, Sŏnp'yŏng, Myŏnggye, Toyŏn, Yŏng'in, Sin'yŏ, Hyŏnjo, Inwŏn, Haksan, Chian, Wŏnsŏn, Pŏpki, Chungse, Hyegyŏn, Chin'an.

一品
門下侍郎 判翰林院事 李藏用,
僉議中贊 上將軍 洪子藩,
僉議中贊 判典理司 元傅,
僉議中贊 上將軍 宋松禮.

First Rank [officials]:
Vice Director of the Chancellery, Supervisor of the Royal Confucian Academy, Yi Chang-yong.
Assistant Deliberator and Court Admonisher, General, Hong Cha-bŏn,
Assistant Deliberator and Court Admonisher, Supervisor of the Office of Proprieties, Wŏn Pu,
Assistant Deliberator and Court Admonisher, General, Song Song-nye.

二品

僉議贊成事 修文殿 大學士 任翊,
僉議贊成事 修文殿 大學士 上將軍 鄭可臣,
門下侍郎平章事 寶文閣 大學士 金坵,
僉議贊成事 集賢殿 大學士 朴恒,
大匡 僉議贊成事 上將軍 廉承益,
僉議侍郎贊成事 金璉,
參知政事 上將軍 李應韶,
參知政事 上將軍 朴松庇,
知僉議事 大學士 上將軍 金周鼎,
知僉議事 寶文署 大學士 張鎰,
知僉議事 寶文署 大學士 朱悅,
知密直事 左常侍 上將軍 崔有渰,
副知密直司事 上將軍 朴之亮,
副知密直司事 上將軍 羅裕,
副知密直事 監察大夫 閔萱,
副知密直司事 上將軍 金頵,
副知密直事 上將軍 李德孫.

Second Rank [officials]:

Assistant Deliberator and Manager of Affairs, Hall for the Cultivation of Literature's Grand Academician Im Ik,

Assistant Deliberator and Manager of Affairs, Hall for the Cultivation of Literature's Grand Academician, General Chŏng Ka-sin,

Vice Director and Manager of Affairs of the Chancellery, Hall for Treasuring Culture's Grand Academician Kim Ku,

Assistant Deliberator and Manager of Affairs, Hall for Assembling Scholarly Worthies' Grand Academician Pak Hang,

Grand Rectifier, Assistant Deliberator and Manager of Affairs, General Yŏm Sŭng-ik,

Assistant Deliberator and Assistant Manager of Affairs, Kim Ryŏn,

Vice Grand Councilor, General Yi Ŭng-so,

Vice Grand Councilor, General Pak Song-bi,

Manager and Assistant Deliberator, Grand Academician, General Kim

Chu-jŏng,

Manager and Assistant Deliberator, Office for Treasuring Culture's Grand Academician Chang Il,

Manager and Assistant Deliberator, Office for Treasuring Culture's Grand Academician Chu Yŏl,

Administrator of the Royal Secretariat, Left Attendant-in-ordinary, General Ch'oe Yu-ŏm.

Vice Administrator of the Royal Secretariat, General Pak Chi-ryang,

Vice Administrator of the Royal Secretariat, General Na Yu,

Vice Administrator of the Royal Secretariat, Investigating Grand Master, Min Hwŏn,

Vice Administrator of the Royal Secretariat, General Kim Kun,

Vice Administrator of the Royal Secretariat, General Yi Tŏk-son.

三品

判秘書寶文署學士 貢文伯,

上將軍 吳睿,

上將軍 鄭守棋,

上將軍 李英柱,

寶文覺學士 金砥,

國子祭酒 知制誥 崔寧,

衛尉尹 崔資奕,

秘書尹 知制誥 吳漢卿,

司宰尹 柳琚.

Third Rank [officials]:

Supervisor of the Palace Library, Office for Treasuring Culture Academician Kong Mun-baek,

General O Ye,

General Chŏng Su-gi,

General Yi Yŏng-ju,

Hall for Treasuring Culture's Academician Kim Chi,

Chancellor of the Directorate of Education, Drafter of Proclamations

Ch'oe Ryŏng,

Director Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison, Ch'oe Cha-hyŏk,
Director of the Palace Library, Drafter of Proclamations, O Han-gyŏng,
Director of the Office for Sacrificial Meat Yu Kŏ.

四品
金吾衛將軍 朴,
典理摠郎 金元具,
近侍中郎將 金龍劒,
郎將 崔有,
佐郎 李世祺,
祇候 尹奕,
搏士 金元祥,
翰林 金,
朝奉郎 金台.

Fourth Rank [officials]:
General of the Royal Insignia Guard, Pak,
Vice Minister of Rites and Personnel Kim Wŏn-gu,
Court Attendant and Commandant Kim Yong-gŏm,
Vice Commandant, Ch'oe Yu,
Adjunct Yi Se-gi,
Usher Yun Hyŏk,
Erudite Kim Wŏn-sang,
Hanlin [Academician] Kim,
Gentleman for Court Service, Kim T'ae.

元貞元年, 乙未八月日, 書字.

Characters written on a day of the eighth month in the thirty-second year of the sexagenary cycle, the first year of Yuanzhen era [1295].

XI

STELE INSCRIPTION OF WŎNJŬNG POU (楊州 太古寺 圓證國師 塔碑文)

11.
Stele Inscription of Wŏnjŭng Pou
楊州 太古寺 圓證國師 塔碑

Stele Inscription of the Stūpa of State Preceptor Wŏnjŭng at T'aego-sa in Yangju.

圓證國師塔銘[篆額]

Inscription to the stūpa of State Preceptor Wŏnjŭng (tablet in seal script)

高麗國, 國師, 大曹溪嗣祖, 傳佛心印, 行解妙嚴, 悲智圓融, 贊理王化, 扶宗樹教, 大願普濟, 一國大宗師, 摩訶悉多羅, 利雄尊者, 謚圓證塔銘, 幷序.

Stele Inscription and Preface to the stūpa of the State Preceptor of the Koryŏ State, the Great Master of the whole country, Venerable Mahāsiddhara[1] Riyung, Heir to the Great Patriarch Caoxi [Huineng], [recipient of] the transmission of the Buddha's Mind Seal, whose practice and understanding is subtle and majestic, whose compassion and wisdom is perfectly interfused, assistant manager of the royal transformation, supporter of the tenets and upholder of the teaching, who made the great vow for universal salvation, posthumously titled Wŏnjŭng (Perfect Realization).

推忠保節, 同德贊化功臣, 三重大匡, 韓山府院君, 領藝文春秋館事, 臣, 李穡, 奉敎, 撰,

1 Magasildara 摩訶悉多羅 probably a corruption of Mahā Siddhārtha.

前奉翊大夫, 判典校寺事, 進賢館, 提學, 臣, 權鑄, 奉教, 書, 丹幷篆額.

Composed upon Royal Order by the subject Yi Saek,[2] Meritorious Minister, Promoter of Loyalty and Preserver of Temperance, Assimilator of Virtue and Assistant of [the Royal] Transformation, Threefold Prime Minister and Senior First Rank Lord of Hansan, Concurrent Director of the Academy of Literature and Office for Annals Compilation. Inscribed in seal script upon Royal Order by the subject Kwŏn Su, minister, former Grand Master of Upholding Assistance,[3] supervisor of the memorials office,[4] superintendent of the academy of presented worthies.[5]

上之十一年, 正月, 十日, 左代言, 臣, 仲容, 傳旨, 若曰, "國師太古浮圖, 汝其銘之." 臣, 謹案, 國師諱普愚, 號太古, 俗姓洪氏, 洪州人也. 考諱延, 贈開府儀同三司, 上柱國, 門下侍中, 判吏兵部事, 洪陽公, 妣鄭氏, 贈三韓國大夫人.

On the tenth day of the first month in the eleventh year of King [U]'s rule (1385),[6] Chung Yong, the senior recipient of edicts, delivered to me

2 Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396), also known as Mogŭn 牧隱, was an eminent scholar-official in the Late Koryŏ period. Yi Saek played a crucial role in the introduction of Zhu Xi's philosophy. He studied Neo-Confucianism in Yuan China and opened an academy after his return to Koryŏ. Among his most famous disciples figure Chŏng To-jŏn and Kwŏn Kŭn. Unlike Chŏng To-jŏn –the architect of the Choson dynasty– Yi Saek remained loyal to the Koryo dynasty and sympathetic to Buddhism.

3 Grand Master of Upholding Assistance (*pongik taebu* 奉翊大夫) was a junior second rank post in the Civil Office in the Koryŏ dynasty.

4 The memorials office (*chŏnggyosi* 典校寺) was an institution supervising the compilation of the classics and memorials to the king in the Koryŏ dynasty. It changed its name on several occasions, being alternatively referred to as *Naesŏsŏng* 內書省, *Pisŏsŏng* 秘書省, or *Pisŏgam*. The office was headed by a supervisor (*p'ansa*) of senior rank three.

5 The Academy of Presented Worthies (*Chinhyŏn kwan* 進賢館 was a government office established in the Koryŏ dynasty during King Ch'ungnyŏl's reign (r. 1274–1308) and located in a building within the compounds of the royal palace (Ch. guandian 館殿). It was staffed by selected civil officials in the service of the king, its post of Education Intendant (Ch. *tixue* 提學) was just below that of the Supreme Education Intendant (Ch. *datixue* 大提學) of junior second rank.

6 King U 禑 was the thirty-second monarch of the Koryŏ dynasty.

[Yi Saek] a royal decree which said: "I order you to compile the inscription for the stūpa of State Preceptor T'aego." I considered with circumspection: the State Preceptor's [posthumous] name was Pou, his title was T'aego. His secular surname was Hong, and he was native of Hongju.[7] His father's taboo name was Yŏn, and he was [posthumously] awarded the title of Supreme Supervisor of Rites[8], Supreme Pillar of State,[9] Director of the Chancellery, Supervisor of the Bureau of Military Personnel, and Duke of Hongyang. His mother, from the Chŏng clan, was awarded the [posthumous] title of Grand Royal Consort of the Three Han Countries.

夫人夢, 日輪入懷, 旣而有娠, 以大德五年辛丑, 九月, 二十一日, 生師, 師成童, 穎悟絶倫. 十三, 投檜巖廣智禪師出家, 十九, 叅萬法歸一話.

She had dreamed that the sun disk had entered her bosom, and so she was pregnant. And on the twenty-first day of the ninth month in the fifth year of the Dade era [1301],[10] she gave birth to the master.

As a child [the age of eight],[11] the master's intelligence was brilliant.[12] At the age of thirteen, he became a monk under Sŏn Master Kwangji[13] at Hoeam-

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7 Hongju 洪州 refers to a locality in modern Hongsŏng County, Southern Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.

8 Supreme Supervisor of Rites is a rendering of *Kaebu ŭidong samsa* 開府儀同三司, which was the rank of a Civil Prestige Title (*wensanjie* 文散階) in the Koryŏ dynasty. It first occurred in China during the Wei 魏 and Jin 晉 Period, and in 995, the Koryŏ dynasty referred to the Supreme Supervisor of Rites (Ch. *dianyi dakuang* 典儀大匡) as Kaebu ŭidong samsa.

9 Supreme Pillar of State (Ch. *shangzhuguo* 上柱國) was an honorific designation. See Hucker 4990.

10 The Dade 大德 era (1297–1308) refers to the reign of the Yuan 元 Emperor Chengzong 成宗, and corresponds to the reign of King Ch'ungnyŏl of Koryŏ.

11 The term *chengtong* 成童 refers to a child older than eight or older than fifteen years.

12 The term translated as brilliant intelligence is *yingwu* 穎悟. It occurs in the *Beishi* 北史, "Arts" Yishu Part One 藝術 上, "Biography of Yu Xiucia" (Yu Xiucai zhuan 庾秀才傳): "The Licentiate was of brilliant intelligence as a child, for at eight he read aloud the Book of Documents."秀才幼穎悟 八歲誦尚書.

13 Sŏn Master Kwangji 廣智禪師: otherwise unknown.

sa. At the age of nineteen, he investigated the hwadu [i.e., point of a story], "The myriad of dharmas return to the one, where does the one return to?"[14]

元統癸酉, 寓城西甘露寺, 一日, 疑團剝落, 作頌八句, "佛祖與山河, 無口悉呑却." 其結句也. 後至元丁丑, 師年三十七冬, 寓栴檀園, 參無字話. 明年正月, 初七日, 五更, 豁然大悟, 作頌八句, "打破牢關後, 淸風吹太古." 其結句也. 三月, 還楊根草堂, 侍親也.

In the year 1333 of the Yuantong era,[15] he resided in Kamno-sa[16] in the western suburbs of the capital [Kaegyŏng]. One day, his ball of doubt [concerning the hwadu] split and fell away. He then composed a poem in eight lines, which concludes with the line "The Buddha and patriarchs, mountains and rivers all swallow without having a mouth." Later on, in the year 1337 of the Zhiyuan era, in the winter when the master was thirty seven years old, he investigated the *wu* character hwadu while residing at the "Sandal-wood Grove" [Chŏndan-wŏn].[17] On the fifth watch of the seventh day of the first month in the following year, he experienced a great

14 The hwadu, "The myriad of dharmas return to the one, where does the one return to?" points to the one ultimate truth beyond all various phenomena. This sentence occurs in the *Baozanglun* 寶藏論 attributed to Sengzhao 僧肇 and refers to reversion to the equal, undifferentiated truth of the myriad of phenomena. When once a monk asked the monk Zhaozhou, "The myriad of dharmas return to the one, where does the one return to?", Zhaozhou replied. "When I was in Qingzhou, I made one long robe of hemp weighing seven catties (*jin* 斤)"僧問趙州 萬法歸一 一歸何處 州云 我在靑州 作一領長衫 重七斤.

15 Yuantong 元統 era (1333–1335) refers to the reign of the Yuan Emperor Ningzong 寧宗, and coincides with the reign of King Ch'ungsuk of Koryŏ.

16 Although there were different monasteries bearing the name Kamno-sa throughout the Korean Peninsula, this one was located on the western suburbs of the capital Kaegyŏng and as such is identifiable as a monastery that flourished well into the early Chosŏn period, when it was listed as having two hundred *kyŏl* of land.

17 The *Chŏndan-wŏn* 栴檀園, literally "sandal-wood grove" was founded in the tenth month of 1337, when Ch'ae Chung-am 蔡中菴 (1262–1340, courtesy name Mumin 無悶, his taboo name 諱 Hongch'ŏl 洪哲, and his title Chung'am 中菴) transformed a building north of his residence into a Sŏn center and invited monks to undertake a winter retreat there. On the seventh day of the first

awakening and composed a poem in eight lines, which concludes with the line "After having smashed the prison's door, the cool breeze blows on T'aego." In the third month (of 1338), he returned to his thatched hut in Yanggŭn,[18] where he attended to his parents.

師嘗看千七百則, 至巖頭密啓處, 過不得. 良久, 忽然捉敗, 冷笑一聲云, "巖頭, 雖善射, 不覺露濕衣."

The master examined the one thousand seven hundred cases [in the *Transmission of the Lamp*], but when he reached the passage of Yantou's[19] secret exposition, he was unable to understand. After a while, he suddenly grasped its meaning and sneered [at Yantou], exclaiming: "Although Yantou is good at shooting, he is unaware that his clothes are soaked with dew."

辛巳春, 住漢陽三角山重興寺, 卓庵於東峯, 扁曰太古, 倣永嘉體, 作歌一篇.

In the spring of 1341,[20] he resided at Chunghŭng-sa[21] on Samgak-san

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month in the year 1338, T'aego achieved a major awakening experience (割然大悟) there and composed his gatha of awakening (*odosong* 悟道頌).

18 Yanggŭn 楊根 refers to Yanggŭn County 楊根縣 and was located in modern Yangp'yŏng County, Kyŏnggi Province.

19 Quanhuo Yantou 巖頭全豁 (828–887) belonged to the Dharma-lineage of Qingyuan Xingsi. He originated from Nanan 南安 County in Quanzhou 泉州 (Fujian Province). His secular surname was Ke 柯. He became a monk at Lingquan-si 靈泉寺 under a certain Yi Gong 義公, and studied Buddhist doctrine. Subsequently, he became a disciple of Deshan Xuanjian 德山宣鑑 (780–865) and obtained the Dharma-transmission from him. He taught and greatly promoted the teachings of Chan at Wolong-si 臥龍寺, a monastery on the shores of Lake Dongting 洞庭湖. In the third year of the Guangji 光啓 era (887), (or in 855 according to the *Zutangji*) armed bandits invaded Yantou's monastery and threatened to kill Yantou. However, Yantou preserved a self-possessed demeanor and scolded them, saying, "What is there to steal in a place where people cultivate the path?" On having shouted these words, he calmly passed away. He was granted the posthumous title of Great Master Qingyan (淸儼大師). For his biography, see *Song gaosengzhuan* 宋高僧傳 vol. 23, *Zutangji* 祖堂集 vol. 7, and *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 vol. 16.

20 1341 corresponds to the second year of King Ch'unghye's restoration to the throne.

near Hanyang. He built a hermitage on its eastern peak, and its name was inscribed as "T'aego"[-Hermitage].[22] [There] he compiled one song [the *T'aego-am ga*] imitating the style of Yongjia Xuanjie.[23]

至正丙戌, 師年四十六, 遊燕都. 聞竺源盛禪師, 在南巢, 往見之, 則已逝矣. 至湖州霞霧山, 見石屋珙禪師, 具陳所得, 且獻太古庵歌, 石屋深器之. 問日用事, 師答訖, 徐又啓曰, "未審, 此外, 還更有事否." 石屋云, "老僧亦如是, 三世佛祖, 亦如是." 遂以袈裟表信曰, "老僧, 今日展睡腳矣." 屋臨濟十八代孫也.

In the year 1346 of the Zhizheng era,[24] the master, at age forty-six, traveled to Dadu [Yandu]. Having heard that the Chan master Zhuyuan Yingsheng[25] was in Nanchao,[26] he went to see him, but he had already passed away. [Thus instead he] went to Xiawu-shan in Huzhou[27] where he met the

21 Chunghŭng-sa 重興寺 was located south of Nojŏk Peak on Samgak-san near modern Seoul. The monastery existed until its destruction in 1915. During King Sukjong's reign, in the Chosŏn dynasty, Chunghŭng-sa was a major monastery where the Supreme Commander (*toch'ongsŏp* 都摠攝) of the monks who build and guarded the Pukhan Mountain Fortress 北漢山城 resided.

22 T'aego-am refers to T'aego's hermitage built to the west of Chunghŭng-sa.

23 The "T'aego-am ga" was modeled upon the style of Yongjia Xuanjie's 永嘉玄覺 (665–713) *Zhengdaoge* (Songs of Realization of the Way) 證道歌, a poem written in seven-character and six-character quatrains, for a total of 266 quatrains. The "T'aego-am ga" itself consists of a total of 84 quatrains in seven and six characters.

24 The Zhizheng 至正 era (1341–1368) refers to the reign of Yuan Emperor Shundi. The year 1346 corresponds to the reign of the Koryŏ King Ch'ungmok, and it was in the spring of that year that T'aego journeyed to Dadu where he took residence in Daguan-si 大觀寺.

25 Zhuyuan Yingsheng 竺源永盛 (1276–1347) was a disciple of Tianning Wunengjiao 天寧無能教 (himself a disciple of Dao Wengyuan 道翁圓). Zhuyuan was his style, Yingsheng (alternative spelling: Shuisheng 水盛) his wei or taboo name. His secular surname was Fan 范, and his posthumous title Miaoguo 妙果(See Wan Xuzang 卍續藏 vol. 138, 927b).

26 Nanchao 南巢 refers 1) to the eastern region of Chao County 巢縣 in Anhui Province, where the ancient fortress of Juchao 居巢 was located, the country of Chaobo (巢伯國) during the Zhou 周 dynasty; 2) to the southern region of Tongcheng County (桐城縣), also in Anhui Province.

27 Xiawu-shan 霞霧山 was located in Wuxing District in Zhejiang Province. It was there that T'aego met Shiwu in the Tianhu Hermitage (天湖庵).

Chan master Shiwu Qinggong.[28] He fully explained to him what he had understood and offered his "T'aego-am ga" to him. Shiwu [having read it,] considered him to be of a deep capacity. He asked him about daily matters and the master replied to all of his questions with confidence. Additionally, he stated [to Shiwu], saying: "I wonder whether you have any concerns besides this [my explanations]." Shiwu said: "I, an old monk, am also like this. The Buddhas and patriarchs of the three time periods are also like this." Thereupon, he handed his robe [to T'aego] as a sign of his trust, and said: "Now, I can stretch out my legs and sleep." [i.e.,: I can die in peace since I have found in you the inheritor of my lineage]. Shiwu was the eighteenth-generation Dharma-successor of Linji.[29]

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28 Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 (1272–1352) was a Chan master affiliated with the Huqiu branch 虎丘派 of Linji Chan. Shiwu was his style, Qinggong 清珙 his taboo name, and Foci Huizhao Chanshi 佛慈慧照禪師 his posthumous title. His secular surname was Wen 溫, his mother was from the Liu clan 劉氏. He originated from Changshu 常熟 in Suzhou 蘇州 (Jiangsu Province). He became a monk under the tutelage (*enshi* 恩師) of Yongwei 永惟, subsequently becoming the disciple and obtaining the lineage transmission from Ji'an Zongxin 及庵宗信. He died in 1352 at the age of 81, having been a monk for 54 years.

29 As the eighteenth-generation Dharma-successor of Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄, Shiwu's ancestral chart 祖譜 is as follows: 28th patriarch Bodhidharma 達磨 → 29th patriarch Huike 慧可 → 30th patriarch Sengcan 僧璨 → 31st patriarch Daoxin 道信 → 32nd patriarch Hongren 弘忍 → 33th patriarch Dajian Huineng 大鑑慧能→ 34th patriarch Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 → 35th patriarch Mazu Daoyi 祖 馬祖道一 → 36th patriarch Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 → 37th patriarch Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 → 38th patriarch Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 → 39th patriarch Xinghua Cunjiang 興化存獎 → 40th patriarch Nanyuan Huiyu 南院慧隅 → 41st patriarch Fengxue Yanzhao 風穴延沼 → 42nd patriarch Shoushan Xingnian 首山省念 → 43th patriarch Fenyang Shanzhao 汾陽善昭 → 44th patriarch Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓 → 45th patriarch Yangqi Fanghui 楊岐方會 → 46th patriarch Baiyun Shouduan 白雲守端 → 47th patriarch Wuzu Fayan 五祖法演 → 48th patriarch Yuanwu Qeqin 圓悟克勤 → 49th patriarch Huqiu Shaolong 虎丘紹隆 → 50th patriarch Ying'an Tanhua 應庵曇華 → 51st patriarch Mian Xianjie 密庵咸傑 → 52nd patriarch Poyan Zuxian 破岩祖先 → 53rd patriarch Wuzun Shifan 無準師範 → 54th patriarch Xueyan Zuqin 雪岩祖欽 → 55th patriarch Jian Zongxin 及庵宗信 → 56th patriarch Shiwu Qinggong 石屋清珙 → 57th patriarch Pingshan Chulin 平山處林 → 58th patriarch T'aego Pou 太古普愚.

留師半月, 臨別, 贈以拄杖曰, "善路善路." 師拜受, 迴至燕都, 道譽騰播. 天子聞之, 請開堂于永寧寺. 賜金襴袈裟, 沉香拂子, 皇后, 皇太子, 降香幣, 王公, 士女, 奔走禮拜.

After having stayed there for half a month, the master, when he was about to leave, received [Shiwu's] walking staff, with the latter saying to him: "Fare well!" The master, having received it and paid his respects to him, returned to Yandu, where the reputation of his accomplishment of the Path had been spread. The Son of Heaven, having heard about him, requested him to perform the opening of the [Dharma] hall ceremony [to become abbot] at Yongning-si. The emperor granted him a gold-thread robe and a whisk made of sandal-wood. The empress and the Heir Apparent offered him incense and silk. Princes and dukes, ladies and gentlemen alike rushed to pay him respect.

戊子春, 東歸, 入迷源小雪山, 躬耕以養者四年.

In the spring of 1348, he returned to the East, went onto Sosŏl-san in Miwŏn [County], where he sustained himself by plowing the fields for four years.

歲壬辰夏, 玄陵邀師, 不應, 再遣使, 請益勤, 師乃至秋, 力辭還山, 未幾, 日新亂作.

In the summer of 1352, King Hyŏllŭng[30] invited the master [to come to the capital], but T'aego did not comply and the king again dispatched an emissary with a renewed request. The master only then complied. But in autumn [of the same year], he firmly declined [to remain in the capital] and returned to Sosŏl-san. Before long, there was the insurrection of Cho Il-sin.[31]

30 Hyŏllŭng 玄陵 refers to King Kongmin. This is the name of his mausoleum.

31 Cho Il-sin 趙日新 (?–1352) was branded as "treatorous subject (Kr. *yŏksin* 逆臣)" for his insurrection in 1352, the first year of King Kongmin's rule. His ancestral seat was P'yŏngyang 平壤, his first name (初名) Hŭngmun 興門. He was a grandson of Cho In-gyu 趙仁規, the son of Cho Wi 趙瑋). When Kongmin was still a Crown Prince, Cho Il-sin travelled to Yuan China to act as his

丙申三月, 請師說法于奉恩寺, 禪教俱集. 玄陵親臨, 獻滿綉袈裟, 水精念珠, 及餘服用, 師陞座, 闡揚宗旨. 天子, 賜雜色段疋袈裟, 三百領, 是日, 分賜禪教碩德. 法筵之盛, 古所未有.

In the third month of 1356, the master was requested to expound the Dharma at Pongŭn-sa,[32] an event attended by monks of both the Sŏn and Kyo schools. Hyŏllŭng personally attended the event and offered [to T'aego] a fully-embroidered robe, a rosary with crystal beads, and other clothes and tools. The master ascended the seat and expounded and propagated the tenets of the [Sŏn] school. The Sŏn of Heaven [i.e., Emperor Shundi] had granted him three hundred pairs of [monk-]robes in different colors, [which were intended to be] distributed among the eminent monks of the Sŏn and Kyo schools [attending the event] on that day. The magnificence of that Dharma gathering had never been matched in ancient times.

師請還山, 玄陵曰, "師不留我倍道矣." 四月, 二十四日, 封爲王師, 立府曰圓融, 置僚屬長官正三品, 尊崇之至也. 留居廣明寺, 明年, 辭位不允. 師夜遁, 玄陵, 知師志不可奪, 悉送法服印章于師所.

The master [later] requested [for the permission] to return to [Sosŏl-]

palace guard 宿衛, for which he was awarded the title of First Grade Meritorious Minister (*ildŭng kongsin* 一等功臣) upon Kongmin's enthronement. Soon afterwards, in the ninth month of that same year, however, he instigated an insurrrection as an attempt to widen his political influence, and pressured the king to nominate him to the post of Assistant Director of the Right (Ch. *you zhengcheng* 右政丞), and, having put the responsibility for the insurrection on his followers, whom he subsequently had assassinated or imprisoned, he was rewarded with the position of Assistant Director of the Left (Ch. *zuo zhengcheng* 左政丞). Six days later, Kongmin had him killed and thus Cho Il-sin's insurrection was pacified six days after its inception.

32 Pongŭn-sa 奉恩寺 was a monastery founded in 950 by King Kwangjong 光宗 south of the capital Kaegyŏng. As the ancestral temple (*wŏndang* 願堂) of the dynasty's founder T'aejo Wang Kŏn 太祖王建 was located in its precincts, Pongŭn-sa was the monastery that was most often visited by the kings of the Koryŏ dynasty. This monastery was also the main place where the yearly Lantern Festival was held and where the rites appointing National and Royal Preceptors were held.

san. But Hyŏllŭng said: "If you don't stay [in the capital], I will turn my back on the [Buddhist] Path." On the twenty-fourth day of the fourth month, [T'aego] was installed as Royal Preceptor and the [government] office, named "Perfect Interfusion" [Wŏnyung], was established [at Kwangmyŏng-sa], at which a staff of senior officials of the third rank of the Right were installed. Thus [T'aego] was held in utter veneration [for this achievement?]. He resided at Kwangmyŏng-sa.[33] The following year, [in 1357], he wanted to resign from his position, but as the king did not allow it, the master then fled at night. Hyŏllŭng knew that the master's will could not be forced. Thus he had all of the master's Dharma robes and his seal [of the office of Royal Preceptor] sent to his [T'aego's] dwelling place [in the mountains].

壬寅秋, 請住陽山寺, 癸卯春, 請住迦智寺, 師皆應命. 丙午十月, 辭位, 封還印章, 仍乞任性養眞. 玄陵從之, 辛旽用事故也.

In autumn of 1362, [the king] requested [T'aego] reside at Yangsan-sa,[34] and in spring 1363, he requested him to reside at Kaji-sa. The master complied with both royal orders. But in the tenth month of 1366, he requested [the permission] to retire from his office and returned his seal, further requesting [permission] to keep on nurturing the true nature. Hyŏllŭng approved this, but this was because [in the meantime] Sin Ton was in power.

先是師上書論旽曰, "國之治, 眞僧得其志, 國之危, 邪僧逢其時, 願, 上, 察之, 遠之, 宗社幸甚."

33 Kwangmyŏng-sa 廣明寺 was a monastery located in Kaegyŏng. It was founded by T'aejo Wang Kŏn who donated his former residence and turned it into a monastery. The monk examinations of the Sŏn school were held here, and the Hall preserving the funerary portrait (*chinjŏn* 眞殿) of King Ch'ungsuk 忠肅 was also located there.

34 Yangsan-sa 陽山寺, also known as Pongam-sa 鳳巖寺, was located on Hŭiyang-san 曦陽山 in Northern Kyŏngsang Province. The monastery's name derives from the mountain's name.

Previous to this [i.e., Sin Ton's rise to power], the master had submitted a memorial to the king, discussing Sin Ton like this: "When the country is [properly] governed, genuine monks have their intentions fulfilled. When the country is in crisis, evil monks meet their opportunity [to rule]. I wish that your Majesty scrutinize this matter and keep [Sin Ton or wicked monks] at a distance. I ardently hope this for [the fate of] the country."

戊申春, 寓全州普光寺, 旽必欲置師死地, 百計莫能中. 後以師將遊江浙, 白玄陵曰,"太古蒙恩至矣, 安居送老, 是渠職也, 今欲遠遊, 必有異圖, 請上加察." 其言甚急, 玄陵不得已從之. 旽下其事, 雜訊之, 誣服師之左右, 錮于俗離寺.

In Spring 1368, he dwelt at Pogwang-sa[35] in Chŏnju. Sin Ton certainly wanted to place the master in a deathtrap, and to that end he devised all kinds of schemes, but none of them was successful. Later on, when the master wanted to travel to Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces [in South China], Sin Ton told Hyŏllŭng: "T'aego has received royal favors to the utmost degree. [Hence] his duty consists in spending his old age living in monastic retreat. But now he wants to travel far away. He certainly must harbor ulterior intentions. I request that your majesty put him under investigation." These words caused Hyŏllŭng to become very anxious, and thus had no choice but to follow [Sin Ton's advice]. Sin Ton delegated that matter [down to the authorities] to be investigated so that the [monks forming the] master's entourage pleaded guilty [through torture though they were innocent]. The master was confined to Songni-sa.

己酉三月, 玄陵悔之, 請還小雪.

In the third month of 1369, Hyŏllŭng regretted this and requested T'aego to return to Sosŏl-san.

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[35] Pogwang-sa 普光寺 was a monastery founded during the Paekche dynasty on Kodŏk-san near Chŏnju. It was restored in the Koryŏ dynasty by Ko Yong-bong 高龍鳳, and in the Chosŏn dynasty the monastery was relocated on Muak-san 毋岳山.

辛亥七月, 旽誅, 玄陵, 遣使備禮, 進封國師, 請住瑩源寺, 師以疾辭. 有旨遙領寺事凡七年, 戊午冬, 被今上命, 始至寺, 居一年而還.

In the seventh month of 1371, Sin Ton was executed. Hyŏllŭng dispatched an envoy [to T'aego] and the master was ceremoniously installed as National Preceptor. The king then requested him to reside at Yŏngwŏn-sa,[36] but the master declined [on pretext of] illness. But he, by [royal] decree, managed the affairs of Yŏngwŏn-sa from a distance [i.e., from Sosŏl-san?] for a total of seven years. In the winter of 1378, he was ordered by the Current King [U] to assume, for the first time, residence at Yŏngwŏn-sa, where he dwelt for one year and then returned [again to Sosŏl-san?].

辛酉冬, 移陽山寺, 入院之日, 上, 再封國師, 先君之思也. 壬戌夏, 還小雪, 冬十二月, 十七日, 感微疾. 二十三日, 召門人曰, "明日酉時, 吾當去矣, 可請知郡, 封印口占辭世狀數通." 時至, 沐浴更衣, 端坐說四句偈, 聲盡而逝. 訃聞于上, 上, 甚悼.

In the winter of 1381, he moved to Yangsan-sa. On the day of his entering the monastery, the king [U] reinstalled him again as National Preceptor. This was according to the intention of the deceased king Kongmin. In the summer of 1382, he returned to Sosŏl-san. On the seventeenth day of the twelfth month in winter [of that same year], he felt slightly ill. On the twenty-third day, he summoned his disciples and said: "I shall depart tomorrow between five and seven o'clock afternoon. You should request the chief of the district that he [send to the king] my seal [as State Preceptor] and dictate to him several of my letters about taking leave from the world." As the time approached, he took a bath and, having changed his clothes, sat upright [in meditative posture] and spoke the four lines of his [death] poem [gātha]. When the sound ended, he passed away. When the king was informed of his death, he grieved him deeply.

36 Yŏngwŏn-sa 瑩源寺 was located on Chassi-san 慈氏山 near Miryang, South Kyŏngsang Province. The stele inscription that Yi Che-hyŏn 李齊賢 compiled for State Preceptor Pogam Hongu 寶鑑混丘 is located there. The temple is close to Unmun-sa 雲門寺. (See *Sinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 vol. 26, Miryang tohobu 密陽都護府 Kojŏk cho 古跡條 entry).

癸亥正月, 十二日, 降香荼毗. 其夜, 光明屬天, 舍利無筭. 進百枚于內, 上 益敬重焉, 命攸司, 謚曰 圓證, 樹塔于重興寺之東峯, 曰 寶月昇空. 作石鍾, 藏舍利者, 凡三所加恩陽山楊根舍那, 是寺浮圖之傍. 所立是, 已作石塔, 以藏之者, 迷源小雪也.

On the twelfth day of the first month in 1383, [the king] offered incense [wood for his] cremation. The night [of T'aego's cremation], the light [of his pyre] extended into the sky and countless relics appeared. One hundred of them were brought into the inner palace, and the king thus revered him even more. He ordered the authorities in charge to confer on him the posthumous title, namely: Wŏnjŭng, and to erect his stūpa, which was called "Powŏl Sŭnggong" ("the treasure moon has emerged into the empty sky"), on the eastern peak at Chunghŭng-sa. Bell-shaped stūpas containing his relics have already been established in three places, namely: at Kaŭn's Yangsan-sa and Yanggŭn's Sana-sa, and here at T'aego-sa [lit.: "next to this temple's stūpa"].[37] The stone stūpa in which he has been enshrined is that on Sosŏl-san in Miwŏn [County].[38]

臣, 穡, 竊伏惟念, 先王, 崇信釋敎, 可謂極矣, 而讒說行乎其間, 太古, 扶持宗敎, 亦可謂至矣, 而患難及于其躬, 此所以因緣果報, 雖聖人, 有所不能免也歟. 至於聲名, 洋溢華夏, 舍利, 照耀古今代, 豈多見哉. 臣, 穡, 再拜稽首, 而銘曰,

I, the subject Yi Saek, in humble prostration, ponder and think that our deceased king's [Kongmin] worship of Śākyamuni's teaching may be considered as being utmost sincere. And therefore slander about him has circulated [since after his death]. During his reign, T'aego's support and preserving of the teachings of the [Sŏn] school likewise can be referred

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37 However the total number of stele inscriptions for stūpas containing the relics of T'aego is five, not three. Namely, those at: 1) Pongam-sa 鳳巖寺 on Hŭiyang-san 曦陽山, 2) Sana-sa 舍那寺 in Yanggŭn county 楊根縣, 3) Ch'ŏngsong-sa 青松寺 in Myŏngju district 溟州郡, 4) Sosŏl Hermitage 小雪庵 in Miwŏn County 迷原縣, and 5) T'aego-sa 太古寺 on Samgak-san 三角山.

38 Miwŏn 迷原 County was located near Kap'yŏng district, Kyŏnggi Province, sixty *li* (approximately 24 kilometers) north of Yanggŭn.

to as being utmost sincere. And therefore the trials and tribulations that he personally went through are [considered] the retribution of this cause and effect. Even for a noble person, there are certain things that cannot be avoided. His fame extends as far as China [Cathay] and his relics are shining. In ancient and modern times, how often do we see somebody like this? I, Yi Saek, repeatedly paying my respect and bowing my head, write the inscription as follows:

惟師之心,
海濶天臨.
惟師之跡,
浮杯飛錫.

Thinking of the master's mind: it is as wide as the ocean and extends as far as the sky.
Thinking of the master's traces: he floated across the sea and his staff reached [China where he sought the Dharma].

歸而遇知,
王者之師.
躬耕小雪,
隱現維時.

Upon his return [to Koryŏ], he obtained royal favor and became the teacher of the king.
He himself tilled the soil on Sosŏl-san, hiding and manifesting himself in accordance with the circumstances of the time.

時維鷲城,
竊弄刑名,
如雲蔽日,
何損於明.

At times, when the Lord of Ch'uisŏng [i.e., Sin Ton] was in power, he secretly laughed at the justification for the penalty inflicted to him [i.e., exile] [by Sin Ton].
[But Sin Ton's plot was merely] Like a cloud covering the sun, what damage could it possibly inflict to its brightness!

月墜崐崘,
餘光之存.
舍利晶瑩,
照耀玉門.

The moon has fallen down behind the Kunlun Mountains, but its twilight [still] remains!
His relics are bright and shining, illuminating the gate of the royal palace.

惟三角山,
翠倚雲端.
樹塔其下,
與國恒安.

Thinking of Samgak-san [where Chunghŭng-sa and T'aego's stūpa is located], the emerald green [of the trees] leans on the edge of the clouds.
[T'aego's] stūpa has been erected beneath it, for the prosperity of the country and its everlasting peace.

惟師之風,
播于大東.
臣拜作銘,
庶傳無窮.

Thinking of the master's style: it has been propagated through the Great Country in the East [i.e., Korea].
In humble prostration, I compiled this inscription. May it be transmitted

through numerous generations, ever more.

洪武十八年, 乙丑九月十一日.
門人, 前松廣寺住持, 大禪師, 釋宏, 立石.

The eleventh day of the ninth month of 1385, in the eighteenth year of the Hongwu era.[39]

The stele has been erected by his disciple, the Great Sŏn Master (taesŏnsa) and former abbot of Songgwang-sa, Sŏkkoeng.[40]

碑陰 Inscription on the reverse side

門徒
國師 智雄尊者 混脩,
王師 圓應尊者 粲英,
內願堂 妙嚴尊者 祖異,
內願堂 國一都大禪師 元珪,
都大禪師 廣化君 玄从嚴.

Disciples:
State Preceptor, Venerable Chiung Honsu,
Royal Preceptor, Venerable Wŏn'ŭng Ch'an'yŏng
Court Buddha Hall [chapel], Venerable Myoŏm Sin'i
Court Buddha Hall, Supreme Great Sŏn Master of the Entire State Wŏngyu
Supreme Great Sŏn Master, Lord of Kwanghwa Hyŏn'om

39 The Hongwu 洪武 era (1368–1399) refers to the reign of the first Ming 明 Emperor Taizu 太祖. The year 1385 corresponds to the eleventh year of King U's reign.

40 Sŏkkoeng 釋宏 was a disciple of Naong Hyegŭn. He was the abbot of Songgwang-sa and also compiled Naong's Account of Conduct.

右第一列 First column on the right

大禪師
守西, 祖宏, 慈紹, 旋軫,
一寧, 定柔, 尙聰, 惠廉,
慧深, 慶敦 等 九十人.

Great Sŏn Masters:
Susŏ, Chogoeng, Chaso, Sŏnjin,
Illyŏng, Chŏngyu, Sangch'ong, Hyeryŏm,
Hyesim, Kyŏngdon, and others, a total of ninety monks.

禪師
信規, 昰皎, 德齊, 義瓊,
壽允, 乃由, 乃圭, 省岑,
天亘, 惟昌 等 百七人.

Sŏn Masters:
Sin'gyu, Kamgyo, Tŏkche, Ŭigyŏng, Suyun, Naeyu,
Naegyu, Sŏngjam, Ch'ŏngŭng, Yuch'ang,
and others, a total of hundred seven monks.

雲水
法空, 定乳, 幻如, 達生,
省明, 中哲, 卜南, 定一,
祖行, 省因, 法慈, 法淳,
達心, 省如, 希儼, 明會,
覺旵, 善見, 希悟, 可信,
可生, 止川, 雪仍, 宣正,
可雲, 可印, 雪祥, 雪岡,
雪思, 雪栖, 了幻, 雪珍,
可松, 可淳, 乃寧, 若无 等 千三人.

Itinerant Monks:
Pŏpkong, Chŏngyu, Hwan'yŏ, Talsaeng,
Sŏngmyŏng, Chungch'ŏl, Pongnam, Chŏng'il,
Chohaeng, Sŏng'in, Pŏpcha, Pŏpsun,
Talsim, Sŏng'yŏ, Hŭi'ŏm, Myŏnghoe,
Kangmyŏng, Sŏn'gyŏn, Hŭi'o, Kasin,
Kasaeng, Chich'ŏn, Sŏr'ing, Sŏnjŏng,
Kaun, Kain, Sŏlsang, Sŏlgang,
Sŏlsa, Sŏlsŏ, Yohwan, Sŏljin,
Kasong, Kasun, Naeryŏng, Yangmu, and others, a total of thousand and three persons.

漆原府院君 尹桓,
領三司事 李仁任,
判門下 崔瑩,
門下侍中 林堅味,
守門下侍中 李成林,
判三司事 李成桂,
鐵城府院君 李琳,
三司左使 廉興邦,
贊成事 禹仁烈,
延興君 朴形,
開城郡 王福命,
上黨君 韓蒇,
門下評理 潘益淳,
政堂文學 李仁敏,
金海君 金師幸,
密山君 朴成亮,
知申事 廉廷秀,
典工判書 崔敬萬,
金海府使 李希桂,
三韓國大夫人 李氏,

比丘尼 妙安,
典工判書 金仁貴.

Lord of Ch'irwŏn Superior Prefecture, Yun Hwan
Concurrent Controller of the Three Agencies, Yi In-im
Supervisor of the Chancellery, Ch'oe Yŏng
Director of the Chancellery, Im Kyŏn-mi
Acting Director of the Chancellery, Yi Sŏng-rim
Supervisor of the Affairs of the Three Agencies, Yi Sŏng-gye
Lord of Ch'ŏlsŏng Prefecture, Yi Rim
Commissioner of the Left of the Three Agencies, Yŏm Hŭng-bang
Chief Secretary, U In-yŏl
Lord of Yŏnhŭng, Pak Hyŏng,
Kaesŏng District Wang Pong-myŏng
Lord of Sangdang, Han Ch'ŏn,
Arbiter of the Chancellery, Pan Ik-sun
Literary Scholar of the Hall of Governance, Yi In-min
Lord of Kimhae, Kim Sa-haeng
Lord of Milsan, Pak Sŏng-ryang
Administrator for Memorials Yŏm Chŏng-su
Manager in the Ministry of Works, Ch'oe Kyŏng-man
Commissioner of Kimhae Prefecture, Yi Hŭi-gye
Grand Royal Consort of the Three Han States, Lady Yi
Bhikṣuṇī Myoan
Manager in the Ministry of Works, Kim In-gwi.

XII

STELE INSCRIPTION OF CH'ŎNGHŎ HYUJŎNG

(淮陽 表訓寺 白華庵 淸虛堂 休靜大師碑文)

12. Stele Inscription of Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng

淮陽 表訓寺 白華庵 淸虛堂 休靜大師碑文

Stele Inscription of Venerable Ch'ŏnghŏ, the Great Master Hyujŏng, at Paekhwa Hermitage in P'yohun-sa, Hoeyang.

賜國一都大禪師淸虛堂碑銘[篆題]

Stele Inscription of Venerable Ch'ŏnghŏ, titled the Great Sŏn Master of the entire country. (Title in seal script)

有明朝鮮國, 賜國一都大禪師, 禪敎都摠攝, 扶宗樹敎, 普濟登階尊者, 西山淸虛堂休靜大師, 碑銘幷序.

Stele Inscription with Preface of the Great Master Hyujŏng,[1] the Venerable Sŏsan Ch'ŏnghŏ, a venerable monk holder of a state-conferred title of Poje, supreme supervisor of the Sŏn and Kyo schools, supporter of the

1 Five stele with their inscriptions have been erected to the memory of Hyujŏng. The first stele was erected at Paekhwa Hermitage 白華庵 of P'yohun-sa 表訓寺 in the Diamond Mountains. It was first erected in the third month of 1630, then re-erected after having undergone amendments in 1632. The inscription was compiled by Wŏlsa 月沙 Yi Chŏng-gwi 李廷龜. The second stele, also at Paekhwa Hermitage and by the same Yi Chŏng-gwi, was erected in the ninth month of 1630. The third stele was erected in 1647 at Taehŭng-sa 大興寺 in Haenam 海南 with an inscription by Kyegok Chang'yu 谿谷張維. The fourth stele was erected at Hongje-sa 弘濟寺 in the tenth month of 1743, its inscription composed by Sibt'an Yi U-sin 十灘 李雨臣. Finally, the fifth stele dates from 1791 and was erected at Taehŭng-sa with an inscription by Sŏ Yu-rin 徐有鄰.

tenets and upholder of the teaching, titled Great Sŏn Master of the entire country, Chosŏn country in the Ming Period.

大匡輔國, 崇祿大夫, 議政府, 左議政, 兼領經筵事監, 春秋館事, 世子傅, 李廷龜, 撰,
崇德大夫, 東陽尉, 申翊聖, 書幷篆.

Composed by Yi Chŏng-gwi,[2] prime minister assisting the state, advisor to the royal household, member of the deliberative council, junior member of the deliberative council, and concurrent supervisor of affairs of the Classics Colloqium, director of the Office for Annals Compilation, and tutor to the crown prince. Written out and put in seal script by Sin Ik-sŏng,[3] advisor to the royal household and Military Commandant of Tongyang [district].

余不識釋家津筏故, 平生不喜談釋, 非故有意於排釋也. 顧以文字, 竊虛聲, 主盟騷壇, 三十餘年矣. 釋子之逐名求詩者, 日踵門, 如遇閒僧韻釋, 輒欣然應之, 亦非故有意於耽釋也.

Since I am ignorant of the teachings of the Buddhists, I spent all my life without finding joy in talking about [matters related to] Śākyamuni. But this does not therefore mean that I [ever] had the intention of rejecting Śākyamuni's teachings [i.e., Buddhism]. Looking back, it has been over thirty years since I, using the written language, usurped empty fame and became the leader of the literary circles. Disciples of Śākyamuni, following

2 Yi Chŏng-gwi 李廷龜 (1564–1635) was, together with Sin Hŭm 申欽 (1566–1628), Chang Yu 張維 (1587–1638), and Yi Sik 李植 (1584–1647), considered the four most eminent literati of the mid-Chosŏn period.

3 Sin Ik-sŏng 申翊聖 (1588–1644) was a son-in-law of King Sŏnjo 宣祖. At the age of twelve, he married Princess Chŏngsuk 貞淑, the daughter of Sŏnjo's concubine, and was granted the title of Military Commandant of Tongyang District. In 1643 he was exiled to Shenyang 瀋陽 for having asserted the rejection of the Qing dynasty established by the Manchus as a usurpation of the Ming dynasty established by Han Chinese. Later on, he spent his time writing poetry and drinking wine. He excelled in the composition of belles-lettres.

my fame, came seeking a poem from me, gathered everyday at my door, as if they were meeting to open a monk contest for reciting poetry. I easily and joyfully accepted their request, but this is not because I have the intention of delving into Śākyamuni[‘s teachings].

余年尚少, 已聞休靜師之名, 其詩多傳誦人間, 恒願一見而不可得. 松雲惟政, 卽師之傳法沙門也. 其渡日本也, 數訪我於京城. 我之赴燕山也, 贈詩於清川江上, 亹亹說師, 窮日夜不倦. 是時, 師之亡, 已數年矣. 緬挹清芬時, 往來于懷.

When I still was in my young years, I had heard of master Hyujŏng's fame. His poems were widely transmitted and recited in the world, and I always wished to meet him once, but I did not get the opportunity to do so. Song'un Yujŏng is the śramaṇa [monk] who received the Dharma-transmission from the master [Sŏsan]. When he [Yujŏng] crossed over to Japan, he visited me several times in the capital. When I went to Yŏnsan,[4] I offered him poems when I met him on the Ch'ŏngch'ŏn River.[5] He told me about his teacher, with the utmost dedication, all day long and without getting tired at night. That was already several years after the master's death. When I remember the pure fragrance [of the master's acts], [his memory] comes and goes in my thoughts.

一日, 公退獨坐, 聞有三僧, 拱立於外, 呼使前, 乃師之弟子. 葆眞, 彦機, 雙仡也, 出示笈中書云, "是清虛堂遺稿." 仍叉手而拜曰, "吾師道業, 有足傳後, 而雲山深寂, 恐久益泯泯, 敢以門徒所紀載者, 爲狀, 宿齋緘封, 千里來獻, 願得相公一言, 鑱之于石, 以不朽吾師."

One day, [long after] I had retired from public office and was sitting alone, I heard three monks standing outside with hands cupped before their

[4] The exact location of Yŏnsan 燕山 remains unclear, as there are three places formerly known as Yŏnsan in Ch'ungch'ŏng Province.

[5] The Ch'ŏngch'ŏn 清川 River, known as Salsu 薩水 in Koguryŏ, has its source in Northern P'yŏng'an Province and flows into the Yellow Sea (Hwanghae 黄海).

chest calling my servant. They were the master's disciples Pojin, Ŏn'gi, and Ssanghŭl. They took out a document from a bamboo book box, and said, "These are the posthumous manuscripts of Venerable Ch'ŏnghŏ." Then they again joined their hands and bowed, saying, "Our master's achievement of the path has been sufficiently transmitted to posterity. Yet, being in the profound calmness of cloudy mountains, we fear that over a long time, they will be increasingly extinguished. Therefore we, [his] disciples dare to take what we have recorded [about him in the meantime] and compose an account of conduct. [Now] with what we have preserved for a long time in a sealed letter, we traveled a thousand *li* to present it to you, wishing to obtain from you, your excellency, a succinct text to be inscribed on stone so as that [the memory of] our master may never perish."

余曰, "爾師之道, 以無爲有, 以虛爲實, 不待存而存, 不待滅而滅, 誰得而朽, 誰得而不朽. 吾夫子曰, 道不同, 不相爲謀, 於師之道, 吾何言哉."

I said, "The path of your master takes nothingness as being and voidness as truth. It exists without depending on existence, it is annihilated without depending on annihilation. Who perishes if he obtains it, who does not perish if he obtains it? Our [master] Confucius said, 'If the path is not the same, one cannot cooperate with each other.' Thus, regarding [your] master's path, what could I possibly say?"

三僧, 起而對曰, "道本不同, 然有同而異者, 異而同者, 伽葉正傳, 獨闡宗風者, 是固同而異者矣. 戹家爲孝, 出世爲忠, 豈非異而同者乎. 唯相公之異其異, 而同其同者焉, 吾師常慕相公之風, 盖有默契而冥感者. 願相公之終惠也." 僕僕起拜, 經歲不去. 余嘉其誠而歎曰, "釋敎之專心所事, 乃如是夫."

The three monks stood up and replied, saying, "The paths [of Buddhism and Confucianism] are originally different, but there is difference while there is identity, and there is identity while there is difference." Kāśyapa's orthodox transmission is the only one expounding the style of the [Sŏn] school. This is indeed [corresponds to] difference while there is identity. To dwell at

home is to be filial, and to leave the world is loyalty: how could that possibly not [correspond to] identity while there is difference! It is only you, your excellency, who make the different different and the identical identical. Our master always esteemed your excellency's style [i.e., Confucianism]. There indeed is a tacit conformity and a hidden response [between Buddhism and Confucianism]. We wish that you bestow this final favor [on our master]." They eagerly begged me to comply, and it seemed as if they would not leave even if a year went by. I praised their sincerity and lamented, "The single-mindedness of the followers of Śākyamuni's teaching is like this!"

按狀, 師法名休靜, 自號清虛子, 以多在香山故, 又號西山. 俗姓完山崔氏, 名汝信, 字玄應, 外祖縣尹金禹, 得罪燕山朝, 謫居安陵, 遂爲安州人.

According to his account of conduct, the master's Dharma name was Hyujŏng. He had styled himself Ch'ŏnghŏja, and because he had dwelled on Myohyang-san for many years, he also had the style name Sŏsan. His secular surname was Ch'oe from Wansan. His name was Yŏsin, his courtesy name was Hyŏn'ŭng. His maternal grandfather, Kim U, was found guilty of having committed an offense during the reign of Yŏnsan and sent in exile to Allŭng,[6] so he became a native of Anju.

父世昌, 鄕擧爲箕子殿参奉, 不就, 詩酒自娛. 母金氏, 老無子. 一日夢, 一婆來曰, "胚胎丈夫子, 故爲娶, 來賀云."

His father Sech'ang was assigned to the post of local custodian of the Kija Hall,[7] but he did not take up his post, instead enjoying themselves with

6 Allŭng 安陵 is a former name of Anju 安州 District in South P'yŏng'an Province.

7 Kija Hall (Kija-jŏn 箕子殿), also referred to as Kija Shrine (Kija-sa 箕子祠), was the shrine containing the ancestral tablet of Kija [Ch. Jizi]. It was built in P'yŏngyang in 1102, in front of Kija's tomb. In 1612 it was renamed Sung'in-jŏn 崇仁殿 ("Hall for Venerating Humaneness") and also known as Kija Hall. But as to whether the tomb is actually that of Kija remains a topic of debate.

poetry and wine. His mother, Kim, was without offspring for a long time. One day, she dreamt an old woman came and told her, "In your embryo is a [future] great man. I therefore come to congratulate you as the mother."

明年庚辰三月, 果誕師. 三歲父於燈夕, 醉臥, 有老翁來謂曰, "委訪小沙門耳." 遂以兩手擧兒, 呪數聲, 摩其頂曰, "以雲鶴名此兒." 言訖出門, 莫之所之. 以故, 小字稱雲鶴. 與羣兒游戲, 或立石爲佛, 或聚沙成塔.

As a result, the master was born in the third month of the following year [1520], the seventeenth year of the sexagenary cycle. At the age of three, his father having lit the lamp at night, was lying in a drunken stupor. An old man came and said, "I just came to visit the young monk [śramaṇa]." Then he raised the child with both hands, repeatedly uttered several spells [incantations] and rubbed the top of his head, saying, "Name this child Unhak [lit. Cloud-Crane]." Having uttered these words, he went out the door and he could not be found anywhere. Therefore, his child name was Unhak. When he played together with other children, he often set up stones [as] Buddhas or made stūpas out of sand.

稍長風神英秀, 力學不懈. 事親至孝, 主倅愛之. 九歲母亡, 十歲父歿, 伶仃無所依. 主倅携至京, 就學於泮齋, 鬱鬱不適意. 與同學數人, 南游智異山, 窮覽形勝, 探賾諸經. 每愴早失怙恃, 益感死生之義.

As he gradually grew up, his demeanor and spirit became outstanding and excellent. He did not neglect to study hard, he served his parents with the utmost filial piety, so the local official cherished him. At the age of nine, his mother died. At the age of ten, his father died. He was left alone without anybody to rely upon. The local official took him to the capital where he had him study at the official [Confucian] school [for the elite]. But he was sad and depressed, and did not feel at ease [in that school]. Together with several school mates, he wandered south to the Chiri Mountains, where he explored all the scenic spots and investigated the abstruse [contents] of [Buddhist] sūtras. But he felt at all times the sorrow of the early lost of his parents, and

he increasingly felt [puzzled] about the meaning of life and death.

忽得禪家頓悟法. 遂聽法於靈觀大師, 剃髮於崇仁長老. 七八年間, 遍踏山, 年三十, 中禪科, 自大選, 陞至禪教兩宗判事. 一日歎曰, "吾出家本意, 豈在此乎." 卽解綬, 以一筇, 還金剛, 作三夢詞曰,

He suddenly obtained the teaching of sudden awakening of the house of Sŏn. Then he heard the teaching [of Sŏn] from the Great Master Yŏnggwan.[8] He shaved his hair under the Venerable Elder Sungin.[9] For a period of seven or eight years, he wandered all over mountains. At the age of thirty, he passed the Sŏn examination and ascended from [the rank of] Taesŏn (i.e., Monk Designate) up to [that of] Supervisor of the Sŏn and Kyo schools. One day he lamented, "How could my original intention to leave the household be here?" and promptly resigned from his office, took his bamboo staff and returned to the Kŭmgang-san, where he composed a poem "the three dreamers", as follows:

主人夢說客,
客夢說主人.
今說二夢客,
亦是夢中人.

The host explains his dreams to the guest, the guest explains his dream to the host. Now the explainer of these two dreams to [another] guest, is

8 Yŏnggwan 靈觀 (1485–1571), also known as Puyong 芙蓉, Ŭn'am 隱庵, and Yŏnsŏn Toin 蓮船道人. His secular name was Kuŏn 九彦. He was born into a poor family from Samch'ŏnp'o in South Kyŏngsang Province. At the age of fourteen, he left home and became a monk, studying Buddhist doctrine and cultivating Sŏn under various masters. He practised hwadu investigation and had a major awakening experienced under the tutelage of Pyŏksong Chiŏm 碧松智嚴 (1464–1534), whose lineage he inherited. His leading disciples include Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng 淸虛休靜 (1520–1604) and Puhyu Sŏnsu 浮休善修 (1543–1615).

9 Sungin 崇仁 was the vocation master of Ch'ŏnghŏ Hyujŏng.

another person in a dream.

登香鑪峰, 作詩曰.

When he ascended Hyangno [lit., "Incense-burner"] Peak,[10] he composed the following poem:

萬國都城如蟻垤,
千家豪傑若醯鷄.
一窓明月淸虛枕,
無限松風韻不齊.

The capital cities of all countries are like anthills. The heroes of all families are like midges. The bright moon shining through the window is like a pure and empty pillow, the sound of the wind endlessly blowing through the pine trees is uneven.

自此韜光鏟彩, 不出山門, 問道者日益衆. 己丑之獄, 妖僧無業, 誣引, 師被逮, 供辭明剴, 宣廟, 知其寃, 立釋之. 徵詩稿, 覽之嘉歎. 御畵墨竹賜之, 命賦詩以進, 師卽進絶句. 宣廟, 亦賜御製一絶, 賞賚甚厚, 慰遣還山.

Henceforth he concealed his brightness and hid his colors, not venturing outside the gate of the mountain monastery. The assembly of those who came to inquire about the path increased daily. In the twenty-sixth year of the sexagenary cycle (1589), the master was arrested and imprisoned because he had been falsely accused by the wicked monk Muŏp. But as depositions elucidating his innocence were provided, King Sŏnjo became aware of this injustice [regarding the master] and promptly had him released. [The king] asked for the drafts of his poems, and having read them, exclaimed

10 "Incense-burner Peak" (Hyangno-bong 香鑪峰), also known as "Dharma-king Peak" (Pŏpwang-bong 法王峰), is the main peak of Myohyang-san 妙香山.

in admiration. He gave him as a present an ink painting of bamboos made by the king himself, and ordered he be provided with a poem composed by himself. The master promptly presented him a quatrain [in two lines]. King Sŏnjo likewise presented him with a quatrain he himself had composed, and bestowed him with a profound reward and consoled him by sending him back to the mountains.

壬辰, 大駕, 西幸龍灣. 師卽杖釼進謁. 宣廟敎曰, "世難如此, 爾可弘濟耶." 師泣而拜命, 請曰, "國內緇徒之老病, 不任行伍者, 臣令在地焚修, 以祈神助, 其餘, 臣皆統率, 悉赴軍前." 以效忠赤, 宣廟義之, 命爲八道十六宗都摠攝, 諭方伯, 禮遇之.

In the twenty-ninth year of the sexagenary cycle (1592),[11] the royal carriage traveled west to Yongman.[12] The master then took his staff and went to see the king. King Sŏnjo asked him, "The world is in such a calamity. Can you save the world?" The master wept as he received this assignment, and requested, saying, "The elderly or sick monks in the whole country, those who cannot be assigned to military formations, I will order to stay [at their monasteries] and burn incense and perform [rites] so as to pray for divine assistance. The others [monks] I will command [them myself] and lead them all in front of your armies. Due to this, pledge loyalty." King Sŏnjo considered this as being loyal and righteous, and appointed him as Supreme Supervisor of the Sixteen Schools of the Eight provinces [i.e., Chosŏn Korea] and instructed the regional officials to courteously welcome [him].

於是, 松雲, 率七百餘僧, 起關東, 處英, 率二千餘僧, 起湖南, 師率門徒及自募僧

[11] This year marks the beginning of the first Japanese invasion of Korea, which took place from 1592 to 1598. It is referred to as the *Imjin Waeran* 壬辰倭亂 (lit. Japanese Invasion of the Imjin Year), in reference to the Imjin 壬辰 year of the sexagenary cycle in Korean.

[12] This refers to King Sŏnjo leaving Seoul for Yongman 龍灣 (present day Ŭiju 義州) to avoid capture by Japanese troops. The Japanese invaders landed in Pusan on the fourteenth day of the fourth month of 1592 at Pusan. The king left Seoul on the thirtieth day of the same month, and the city was taken by the Japanese troops exactly one month later, on the thirtieth day of the fifth month.

一千五百, 合五千餘名. 會于順安法興寺, 與天兵, 爲後先, 以助聲勢, 戰牧丹峰, 斬獲甚多. 天兵, 遂克平壤, 復松都, 京城賊宵遁.

Thereupon Song'un commanded over seven hundred monks who rallied in Kwandong. Ch'ŏyŏng[13] commanded over two thousand monks who rallied in Honam, and the master [Hyujŏng] commanded one thousand five hundred of his disciples and monks who had enlisted out of their own accord. Altogether there were over five thousand individuals. They gathered at Pŏphŭng-sa[14] in Sun'an, and together with the [Ming] imperial troops, at the front or at the rear, they helped and in the momentum, they fought on Moran Peak [in P'yŏngyang], cutting of the head of many [enemy soldiers]. The [Ming] imperial troops succeeded in overcoming P'yŏngyang and recapturing Songdo. The [Japanese] enemies retreated at night from the capital.

師以勇士百人, 迎大駕還京都. 天朝提督李如松, 送帖嘉獎, 有爲國討賊, 忠誠貫日, 不勝敬仰之語, 題詩贈之曰.

The master and a hundred brave warriors welcomed the royal charriot

13 Ch'ŏyŏng 處英, also known by his style name Noemuk 雷黙, was one of Hyujong's main disciples. As a commander of monastic militia (*sŭngbyŏng jang* 僧兵將) he led over two thousand armed monks into battle and, in the Honam 湖南 region, achieved victory in the battle at Kŭmsan, assisting the Korean army under the direction of its commander-in-chief Kwŏn Yul 權慄 (1537–1599). In 1573, Ch'ŏyŏng advanced north to Suwŏn, where he and the monks under his command helped Kwŏn's troops in the fortress on Tokwang-san 禿旺山 against the siege by Ukita Hideie 宇喜多秀家 (1573–1655). Ch'ŏyŏng also commanded seven hundred monks in the Battle of Haengju 幸州, which took place on February 12, 1593. The monks joined the troops of general Kwŏn Yul and so approximately 3,000 Korean defenders successfully repelled more than 30,000 Japanese forces, killing 24,0000 of them. The battle is considered one of greatest Korean victories during the seven years of war against the Japanese invaders. For his military exploits, Ch'ŏyŏng was granted the title of "General Who Breaks and Charges" (*chŏlch'ung changgun* 折衝將軍. He also achieved military exploits in the battles of P'yŏngyang and Kaesŏng.

14 Pŏphŭng-sa 法興寺 was located on Pŏphŭng-san 法興山 in Southern P'yŏng'an Province. During the Japanese Invasion, Hyujŏng assembled and trained monastic militias in the precincts of this monastery.

back to the capital. The provincial military commander of the [Ming] Imperial court, Li Ru-song, sent a letter of commendation [to the master] for having suppressed the enemies for the sake of the state, and for his loyalty [as lofty as] passing through the sun, his words were inadequate to express his admiration. He presented him with an inscribed poem, as follows:

無意圖功利,
專心學道禪,
今聞王事急,
摠攝下山巓.

Without any intentions of seeking fame and glory, he single-mindedly studied the path of Sŏn.
Now having heard about the urgency of royal affairs, he descended from the mountain summits to [act as supreme] supervisor.

諸將官, 爭先送帖贈遺. 賊退, 師啓曰, "臣年垂八十, 筋力盡矣, 請以軍事, 屬於弟子惟政, 及處英, 臣願納摠攝印, 還香山舊棲."

All the generals vied to be the first to send the letter [to the master]. The enemy having withdrawn, the master stated, "I am almost eighty and my physical strength has worn out. I request that the military affairs be put under the direction of my disciples Yujŏng and Ch'ŏyŏng. I wish that you accept my seal of [supreme] supervisor [back] and allow me to return to Myohyang-san, my former dwelling place."

宣廟嘉其志, 憫其老, 賜號國一都大禪師禪敎都摠攝扶宗樹敎普濟登階尊者. 自是, 義益高, 名益重, 道益尊. 往來於頭流, 楓岳, 玅香諸山, 弟子千餘人, 名可名者, 七十餘人.

King Sŏnjo praised his intention and felt pity for his old age. He bestowed upon him the title "Venerable monk, holder of the state-conferred title of Poje, supreme supervisor of the Sŏn and Kyo schools, supporter of

the tenets and upholder of the teaching, Great Sŏn Master of the entire country." Henceforth, his righteousness was even higher, his fame even weightier, his path even more venerated. He wandered on Turyu-, Pung'ak-, and Myohyang-san. Among his disciples of over a thousand individuals, there were over seventy individuals of distinguished reputation.

甲辰正月, 二十三日, 會弟子於玅香圓寂菴, 焚香說法, 取自家影幀, 書于其背曰, "八十年前渠是我, 八十年後我是渠." 作書附松雲訖, 趺坐而逝, 年八十五, 法臘六十四.

On the twenty-third day of the first month of the forty-first year of the sexagenary cycle, he gathered his disciples in the Wŏnjŏk Hermitage on Myohyang-san, and having burnt incense and explained the Dharma, he took his own portrait and wrote on its back, "Eighty years ago this was me. Eighty years later I shall be this." Having written and entrusted it to Song'un, he sat cross-legged and passed away. He was eighty-five years old and had been a monk for sixty-four years.

異香滿室, 三七日後始歇. 弟子圓峻, 印英等, 闍維, 奉靈骨一片, 舍利三枚, 樹浮圖於普賢, 安心寺, 又一片, 弟子惟政, 自休等, 奉來蓬山, 得神珠數枚, 窆石于楡岾寺之北.

A miraculous fragrance filled the room, which did not subside for twenty-one days. His disciples Wŏnjun and Inyŏng performed his cremation [lit. jhāpita] and enshrined a part of his numinous bones and three grains of his relics [lit. śarīra] in a stūpa erected at Pohyŏn-sa and Ansim-sa. Another part [of his relics] was brought by his disciples Yujŏng and Chayu to Pongnae-san. They obtained several grains of divine pearls [of relics], which were buried in a stone stūpa north of Yujŏm-sa.

吾東方太古和尚, 入中國霞霧山, 嗣石屋而傳之幻庵, 幻庵傳之龜谷, 龜谷傳之正心, 正心傳之智嚴, 智嚴傳之靈觀, 靈觀傳之西山, 此實臨濟之正派. 而惟西山

獨得其宗云. 所著, 禪家龜鑑, 禪教釋, 雲水壇, 各一卷, 淸虛堂集八卷, 行于世.

The Venerable T'aego, from our country in the Eastern Quarters, went to Xiawu-shan in China, obtaining the [Dharma-] transmission from Shiwu [Qinggong]. He transmitted it to [Hwan'am] Honsu. Honsu transmitted it to Kugok [Kak'un]. Kugok transmitted it to [Pyŏkkye] Chŏngsim. Chŏngsim transmitted it to [Pyŏksong] Chiŏm, Chiŏm transmitted it to [Puyong] Yŏnggwan, Yŏnggwan transmitted it to Sŏsan [Hyujŏng]. This truly is the correct genealogy of the Linji [school lineage]. Therefore it can be said that only Sŏsan alone obtained that teaching. The works he composed: the *Sŏnga kwigam* [Guide to the Sŏn School], *Sŏnkyo sŏk* [Exposition of Sŏn and Doctrine], *Unsudan* [(Rites for the) Cloud and Water Altar], each consisting of one fascicle, and the *Ch'ŏnghŏdang-jip* [Anthology of Venerable Ch'ŏnghŏ] in eight fascicles- were circulated in the world.

噫, 師之道, 余雖未詳其淺深, 師之稿, 余旣玩繹而卒業矣. 觀乎詩, 足以知師自得之趣, 觀乎文, 足以知師造詣之高. 雖其語, 或不雅馴, 言言皆活, 句句飛動, 有似古釼出匣, 霜風颯然, 往往酷似.

How sad! Although I do not know in detail the depth of the master's path, I have fully appreciated and unraveled the master's [posthumous] manuscripts. Having seen his poetry was sufficient for me to know the meaning of the master's personal attainment. Having seen his prose was sufficient for me to know the height of the master's erudition. Although his language is sometimes not refined, each of his words are vivid and each sentence is full of life. It is like an ancient sword taken out of its sheath, or like the harsh cold of the soughing frost and wind.

開元大曆, 渠家惠休道林, 不論也, 況也遇患難, 不失其守, 乃能結. 主, 知於縲絏之中, 徵稿, 命製之榮, 御筆詩畫之錫, 誠千古所未有之殊眷.

Even though in the Kaiyuan and Dali eras the [monks] Huixiu and Daolin [left their monasteries to protect the state], [Hyujŏng] encountered even

greater suffering and hardship, but he did not fail to preserve [his status as monk] and managed to assemble [the samgha]. Our lord the king knew that [the master] was entrapped [in the false accusations made by Muŏp], and requested that the manuscripts [of the master be brought to him]. I received the honor of the [royal] order to compose a text on the king's handwritten poem and ink painting; this was indeed a special consideration unheard of since remote antiquity.

而逮乎國難, 糾義旅, 助天兵, 收復三都, 迎還大駕, 便納賜印, 拂衣還山, 其出處之節, 無愧古人.

Furthermore when the national calamity [of the Japanese invaders] ensued, he rallied the [voluntary army of] righteous monks to assist the [Ming] imperial army and recaptured the three capital cities [of P'yŏngyang, Kaesŏng, and Hansŏng], and he welcomed the royal carriage returning [to the capital]. Then he returned the seal [of supreme supervisor] that the king had granted him, retiring [from office] and returning to the mountains. The loyalty that he displayed to the world [was so impeccable] that he would not be shamed by the ancients.

夫士生斯世, 孰不欲遇知於時君, 立功名以自顯, 然而抱才不售, 沒世無聞者, 何限. 今以山中一緇衣, 乃能名達九重, 聲施後世, 孰謂禪門, 能辦此功業歟, 銘如是, 不媿吾筆歟, 其銘曰,

If a scholar is born in this world, which of them does not wish to obtain recognition from the ruler of the time, and highlight themselves by establishing one's merit and reputation? But even so, if one is endowed with talent but can not sell it, when one dies, there will be nobody in the world who has heard about him. How regretful [this is]! Now, there is one monk in the mountains whose reputation reached the nine-layered royal palace, and whose fame was bequeathed to future generations. Who among the gate of Sŏn can be said of having accomplished this exploit? The inscription is as follows. Will it put my writing to shame? It says,

金天之西,
薩水之濱,
淑氣亭毒,
乃降眞人.

West of Kŭmch'ŏn, on the border of the Sal River,
Where the air is mild and suppresses poisons, a true person has been born [lit., descended].

仙婆抱送,
釋老提携.
天開寶光,
帝借金鎞.

An old immortal hugged him and uttered [a spell], and old monk took him in his arms.
Heaven opened up and a precious beam of light came forth, the [celestial] emperor provided a golden scalpel to help [the world].

靈符玅契,
秀骨超凡.
蚌珠出海,
龍鏡發函.

His numinous and sublime conformity [with the Buddha's teaching], his extraordinary spirit and complexion.
A pearl emerging from the ocean, a mirror made of a dragon's pearl coming out of a box.

失怙無依,
千里負笈.
淹貫諸家,
卓然自立.

Bereaved of his parents, nobody to rely upon, he left home traveling afar [lit. a thousand *li*] to study [lit., carrying a bamboo book box];
He had a thorough understanding of all thinkers, he established himself in a towering fashion [through Sŏn cultivation].

乃超覺路,
遂登法席.
祖月重輝,
羣昏一廓.

Then he [rapidly] advanced on the path to awakening [achieving it], and subsequently he ascended to the Dharma-seat [of the Dharma assembly].
He caused the moon of the [Sŏn] patriarchs to shine forth again, and repell the darkness of all sentient beings at once.

餘事詩聲,
上徹楓宸.
殊恩異渥,
榮耀千春.

The sound of the poems he composed in time of leisure extended upwards to the royal palace.
The extraordinary munificence of the king's special favor: the honor thereof lasting for a thousand springs.

身雖巖穴,
忠不忘君.
遇難一呼,
義旅如雲

Although his body was in a rock cave [in the mountains], his loyalty did not forget the ruler.
As the country faced a national calamity, he was called [for help by the

king], and [monks] gathered like clouds in a voluntary army.

協助天戈,
憑伏靈佑.
驅除腥穢,
福我寰宇.

They assisted the [Ming] imperial army in its battle, relying on the numinous help [of the Buddha] to subdue them.
They eliminated the smelly and dirty [Japanese], so that happiness was restored in our entire realm.

出而濟世,
名動華夷.
入而修定,
法闡宗師.

He has left the mountains to save the world, his fame moved China and Korea. He entered into the cultivation of concentration [samādhi], he is the master elucidating the Dharma.

在掌明珠,
虛明自玩.
儻來榮辱,
如夢一幻.

The bright jewel in the palm of his hand, empty and bright it [is] self-content. If honor or humiliation come, these are [merely] like an illusory dream.

瞻彼玅香,
與夫金剛.

寔惟淨界,
宜我法王.

Whether looking at Myohyang-san or Kŭmgang-san,
There is really only a pure realm suitable for our Dharma King.

來往諸天,
百靈護持.
乘化返眞,
去又何之.

Coming and going to the various heavens, protected by a hundred of numinous beings,
He availed himself [of the chance] to enter nirvāṇa and return to the true [source]. Where did he go?

功紀人間,
道在山中.
一片貞珉,
萬古英風.

His meritorious deeds have been recorded in the human realm, his path is within the mountains. One single piece of jade-like stone has been carved, so that his heroic style may be preserved for all ages.

皇明, 崇禎五年, 三月十日, 彥機, 雙仡, 立.

Erected by Ŏn'gi and Ssanghŭl on the tenth day of the third month in the fifth year of the Chongzhen era [1632] of the August Ming [dynasty].

陰記 Reverse inscription.[15]

余嘗讀清虛遺稿 粗窺其聲響而與爲序引 今年遊楓岳 循覽遺躅 其徒弟諸禪宿 往往仍守師乘 傳誦緖言 便覺老師高風逸韻 而不離溪聲山色之中 爲之爽然者屢矣 及其見月沙相公所撰序銘 發揮老師平素 與其功烈 及於國家者至詳備 不但光耀禪門 爲鎭山寶而已 始師住此山最久 內外伽藍 法席殆遍 今碑在表訓寺之南若干步 乃此山第一洞門也 沙門彦機葆眞雙仡等 方議建影堂于寺側 爲晨夕頂禮之所 又樹碑香山 幷刻相公文 及梓其集 傳諸世 皆由機等唱率 訖功而意猶未已 噫 吾黨之士 平日挾策 從賢師友遊 非不盛 及其死而遂泯其跡 有愧于此沙門者 亦多矣 寧可以異學 別岐而少之哉

崇禎壬申 庚夏 旬日

德水 李植 謹識

I once read the manuscript bequeathed by Ch'ŏnghŏ. I roughly glimpsed an echo of his reputation and consented to write a preface to it. This year I traveled to Pung'ak [i.e., Kŭmgang-san] and toured to look at the vestiges of his deeds. His disciples, various Sŏn virtuosi, frequently maintained their master's vehicle [of Sŏn; i.e., his teaching]. As they transmitted and recited the thread of his teachings [lit. words], I understood the lost rhymes of the old master's eminent style. Therefore, while I did not leave the sounds of the creek within the mountain scenery, I repeatedly felt joyful. And I saw that the Grand Councilor Wŏlsa had composed the preface to his [stele] inscription, which elaborated on the old master's ordinary life and his meritorious contributions to the state in utmost detail. He did not just glorify the Sŏn school in order to protect the treasures of the mountain. At first the master dwelt on this mountain for a very long time. [He performed] Dharma assemblies almost everywhere, inside and outside the monastery. Now [his] stele is located a few steps south of P'yohun-sa. Thus this mountain is the first cave [monastery] [related to the master]. The monks Ŏn'gi, Pojin, Ssanghŭl, and others then discussed building a Portrait Hall adjacent to the monastery, as a place to perform rites of homage from dawn to dusk. A stele was also erected on [Myo]hyang-san. It was carved with

15 From the temple gazetteer of Yujŏm-sa, (*Yujŏm-sa ponmal saji* 楡岾寺本末寺誌).

a text also by Grand Councilor [Wŏlsa], and was reprinted in his literary collection, to be propagated to every generation. All of this was due to the call by Ŏn'gi and others [of the master's disciples], but upon its completion, they thought that this [i.e., the commemoration of the master] was still not yet ended. Alas, my fellow [Confucian] scholars, usually we read books, and do not adequately follow worthy teachers. And upon their death and then as their traces perish, we are ashamed. There are also many monks who are like this. How can it be that there are few who would study something different and engage on a separate path?

Respectfully written by Tŏksu Yi Sik on the tenth day of kyŏngha in the ninth year of the sexagenary cycle of the Chongzhen era.

門庭
惟政, 處英, 圓峻, 一禪,
法融, 一學, 靈芝, 行珠,
日休, 海日, 熙鑑, 善修,
敬軒, 印英, 太成, 普明,
普願, 行淳, 敬天, 惠照,
惠㱇, 儀瑩, 靈珠, 禪勒,
英俊, 孤雲, 惠斤, 雪岑,
普雲, 靈岑, 天奎, 曇彥,
性正, 太能, 太湖, 戒熏,
冲暉, 覺性, 守一, 慧球,
弘信, 雙印, 雙運, 熙玉,
法堅, 海眼, 應祥, 葆眞,
彥機, 六虛, 雙仡, 寶希,
修德.

Disciples:[16]
Yujŏng, Ch'ŏyŏng, Wŏnjun, Ilsŏn, Pŏbyung, Irhak, Yŏngji, Haengju, Irhyu,

16 Lit., "The courtyard [behind] the gate [of a monastery]."

Haeil, Hŭigam, Sŏnsu, Kyŏnghŏn, In'yŏng, T'aesŏng, Pomyŏng, Powŏn, Haengsun, Kyŏngch'ŏn, Hyejo, Hyeŭn, Ŭiyŏng, Yŏngju, Sŏllŭk, Yŏngjun, Koun, Hyegŭn, Sŏljam, Poun, Yŏngjam, Ch'ŏngyu, Tam'ŏn, Sŏngjŏng, T'aenŭng, T'aeho, Kyehun, Ch'unghwi, Kaksŏng, Suil, Hyegu, Hongsin, Ssang'in, Ssang'un, Hŭiok, Pŏpkyŏn, Hae'an, Ŭngsang, Pojin, Ŏn'gi, Yukhŏ, Ssanghŭl, Pohŭi, Sudŏk.

門助
松桂, 惟齊, 靈淑, 儀諶,
頤凜, 敬允, 學訥, 智明,
道一, 性仁, 太嚴, 釋敏,
弘敏, 儀誠, 守鑑, 靈運,
天隱, 彦怡, 勝佑, 儀英,
戒暉, 端慮, 寶瓊, 惟獻,
性應, 說淸, 天日, 自修,
普正, 契眞, 太仁, 策俊,
雙諦, 惠塘, 神歇, 覺祥,
信衍, 信卞, 儀休, 智嚴,
密雲, 玄宗, 淡元, 英一,
尙凒, 智暉, 暮霞, 熙印,
慧能, 法眞, 慧仁, 妙嚴,
得一, 一庵, 敬岺.

Disciples in training:[17]

Songgye, Yuje, Yŏngsuk, Ŭisim, I'rŭm, Kyŏng'yun, Hangnŭl, Chimyŏng, Toil, Sŏng'in, Taeŏm, Sŏngmin, Hongmin, Ŭisŏng, Su'gam, Yŏng'un, Ch'ŏn'un, Ŏn'i, Sŭng'u, Ŭiyŏng, Kyehwi, Tallyŏ, Po'gyŏng, Yuhŏn, Sŏng'ŭng, Sŏlch'ŏng, Ch'ŏn'il, Chasu, Pojŏng, Kyejin, T'aein, Ch'aekchun, Ssangch'e, Hyedang, Sinhŏl, Kaksang, Sin'yŏn, Sinbyŏn, Ŭihyu, Chiŏm, Mir'un, Hyŏnjong, Tamwŏn, Yŏng'il, Sang'ŭn, Chihwi, Moha, Hŭiin, Hyenŭng,

17 Lit., "Assistant and the [monastery's] gate" (*munjo* 門助).

Pŏpchin, Hyein, Myoŏm, Tŭg'il, Ir'am, Kyŏngjam.

施主秩
生員 李俊耉,
折衝將軍龍驤衛副護軍 張弘翼 外,
京畿 覺月等 百五十五人,
黃海 趙大君等 六十六人,
江原 尹應雲等 三十八人,
咸鏡 趙龍水等 十九人,
合道 林五龍等 十八人,
邊手 法輪, 一禪, 雙湖, 印機,
雪宜, 案珪,
刻手 李聖民, 金得先,
別坐 妙岩, 靈一,
化主 慧通, 雙熙, 印玄,
住持 萬雨,
門人 尙澄, 謹書,

List of Donors:

Government Licenciate Yi Chun-gu,

General of the Assault-resisting Garrison and Commander of the Dragon-galloping Guard, Vice Military Protector, Chang Hong-ik and others.

Kyŏnggi [Province]: Kag'wŏl and others, a total of hundred fifty-five persons. Hwanghae [Province]: Cho Tae-gun and others, a total of sixty-six persons.

Kang'wŏn [Province]: Yun Ŭng-un and others, a total of thirty-eight persons.

Hamgyŏng [Province]: Cho Yong-su and others, a total of nineteen persons.

The other provinces together: Yim O-yong and others, a total of eighteen persons.

Artisans [in charge of the stele's] rim: Pŏmnyun, Ilsŏn, Ssangho, In'gi, Sŏr'ŭi, An'gyu.

Carving Artisans: Yi Sŏng-min, Kim Tŭk-sŏn.
Special Seats: Myo'am, Yŏng'il.
Main Fund Raisers: Hyet'ong, Ssanghŭi, In-hyŏn.
Abbot: Man'u.
Carefully written by the disciple Sangjing.

碑東側
靈甘等 百三十七人,
平安 李億龍等 八十一人,
黃海 朴美生等 八十二人,
信默, 德熙, 太淳, 儀日,
性默, 普海, 崇祐, 學衍,
玉鍊, 太均, 正浩, 惠元,
惠機.

Stele's East side:
Yŏnggam and others, a total of hundred thirty-seven persons.
P'yŏng'an [Province]: Yi Ŏk-ryong and others, a total of eighty-one persons.
Hwanghae [Province]: Pak Mi-saeng and others, a total of eighty-two persons.
Sinmuk, Tŏkhŭi, T'aesun, Ŭi'il, Sŏngmuk, Pohae, Sung'u, Hak'yŏn, Ongnyŏn, T'ae'gyun, Chŏng'ho, Hyewŏn, Hyegi.

碑西側
清虛堂浮屠 後錄
大施主 平壤 金希神等 四十六人,
中和 吳年金等 十九人,
黃州 韓得男等 五十六人,
京城 沈氏等 二十二人,
谷山 姜大海等 三人.

Stele's West side:

Later Record of the Stūpa of Venerable Ch'ŏnghŏ:

Donors: Py'ŏngyang's Kim Hŭi-sin and others, a total of forty-six persons.

Chunghwa's O Nyŏn-gŭm and others, a total of nineteen persons.

Hwangju's Han Tŭk-nam and others, a total of fifty-six persons.

Kyŏngsŏng's Sim clan and others, a total of twenty-two persons.

Koksan's Kang Tae-hae and others, a total of three persons.

XIII

APPENDIX: STELE INSCRIPTIONS OF KOREAN NUNS

1.
Stele Inscription of the Nun Sasin Nak'am-dang at Singye-sa,[1] in Kosŏng

高城 神溪寺 比丘尼 洛庵堂思信碑文(1664–1765)

洛庵堂尼首座思信之浮屠碑[碑陽]

Inscription to the stūpa of the nun Nak'amdang, the Head Seat Sasin. [Front side of the stele].[2]

碑陰 Reverse side of the stele

師京城人. 俗姓姜氏, □□□之女也. 師生于康熙甲戌, 而年至弱冠, 早有厭世之志. 而自投於京外終南山彌陀庵, 法贊尼師處, 削髮爲師. 法贊, 乃仁氏之後裔也.

The master was [a native] from Kyŏngsŏng.[3] Her secular surname was Kang, she was the daughter of [three characters name of her father deliberately deleted]. The master was born[4] in the eleventh year of the sexagenary cycle, in the Kangxi era [1694]. By the time she reached the age of adulthood, she already had a mind to be done with the world. Thereupon, of her own accord,

1 Singye-sa is a monastery located in the Diamond Mountains (Kŭmgang-san). It was first built in the Silla dynasty by the monk Poun 普雲 in 519 and restored by Kim Yu-sin in 653.

2 The front side of the stele (*piyang* 碑陽) has only the title of the inscription. The full text of the inscription is carved on the reverse side.

3 Kyŏngsŏng refers to modern-day Seoul.

4 Notice the use of the term *saeng* 生 used for nuns, instead of the more respectful term *t'an* 誕 which is used for monks.

she went to Mit'a-am[5] on Chongnam-san[6] outside of the capital, the abode of the nun and master Pŏpch'an, under whom she underwent the tonsure and whom she took as her teacher. Pŏpch'an was a descendant of [a certain] person of the In clan.[7]

師年志旣長, 勤于念誦, 捨施爲工, 亦有佛殿改建之功. 雖曰尼師, 何愧於丈夫沙門也. 乾隆乙酉六月十日, 示微疾, 因以歸寂.

When the master's age and resolution matured, she diligently chanted the Buddha's name [Jikwan: interprets the second character as "and reciting sūtras"] and took giving [dāna, i.e., the perfection of given] as her practice. She also made the merit of rebuilding the Buddha-hall. Although she was a nun master [i.e., a female master], why should one be ashamed of referring to her as a heroic [lit. 'great man'] śramaṇa? On the tenth day of the sixth month in the twenty-second year of the sexagenary cycle in the Qianlong era, she showed signs of a slight illness and hence passed away [lit., returned to stillness].

門弟子太熙大岦等, 依沙門法, 荼毗于終南之東嶺, 是日夜, 山中瑞□□, 有異香, 衆人驚異之. 收得一枚靈骨於岩松上. 門人, 乃建浮屠, 藏骨於金剛之東神溪寺之下, 而伐石, 略記其顚末云爾. 乾隆三十二年丁亥九月日立.

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5 Mit'a-am 彌陀庵 (Amitābha's Hermitage) refers to Mit'a-sa 彌陀寺 located in Seoul. The monastery was founded by the monk Taewŏn 大原 in 888, in the Silla dynasty. In 1115, in the Koryŏ dynasty, the temple was expanded by the nun Pongjŏk 奉寂 and the monk Manbo 萬寶, who build a hall dedicated to Amitābha ("Hall of Supreme Bliss", *kŭngnak-jŏn* 極樂殿) on Chongnam-san. In the Chosŏn dynasty, the monk Hwansin 幻身 build the "Hall of Immeasurable Life " (muryangsu-jŏn 無量壽殿) in 1827, and the monk Inhŏ 印虛, in 1862, with the financial support of Queen Consort Cho 趙 (1808–1890), resored the "Hall of Supreme Bliss." Mit'a-sa was one of the "four great nunneries" (*sanisa* 四尼寺) located outside of the four main city gates of Seoul. The other three were Pomun-sa 普門寺, Ch'ŏngnyong-sa 青龍寺), and Ch'ŏngnyang-sa 清凉寺.

6 Chongnam-san is a former name for Nam-san, the "Southern Mountain" in Seoul.

7 The In clan had its ancentral seat at Kyodong 喬桐 on Kanghwa Island.

Among her disciples were [the nuns] T'aehŭi, T'aeŭn, and others. Relying on the regulations for monastics [lit. śramaṇa], they performed her cremation [lit. jhāpita] on the eastern ridge of Chongnam-san. That night there was in the mountain an auspicious … [two characters purposedly deleted] and a strange fragrance. The assembly was surprised and considered this marvelous. They collected one piece of relic [lit. numinous bone] on top of a pine tree on the cliff. Her disciples then built a stūpa and stored her relic[s] below Singye-sa on the eastern part of Kŭmgang-san. Then they cut a stone on which they carved an abridged record of the events of her life.

[Stele with the inscription] erected on a day in the ninth month of the twenty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle, the thirty-second year of the Qianlong era [1767].

2.
Text of the Stele of the female Great Master, the Nun Chŏng'yu, at Pohyŏn-sa in Yŏngbyŏn.[8]

寧邊 普賢寺 比丘尼 定有女大師碑文

女大師定有浮屠碑銘 幷序

Stele Inscription with Preface to the stūpa of the female Great Master Chŏng'yu.

大師俗姓姜, 平壤良家女也. 性恬淨, 無人欲. 自少, 歸心佛祖, 口不近葷血, 喃喃誦貝葉書, 以忘晨夕. 意至行來名山水, 若踰閾, 然夜分必庭拜北斗, 入室面壁, 寂然若坐睡, 實非睡也.

The Great Master's secular surname was Kang. She was the daughter of a respectable family in P'yŏngyang. Her nature was tranquil and pure. She had no secular desires [lit. human ambitions]. Since her youth, she had taken refuge in the Buddhas and Patriarchs. She abstained from putting any pungent foods or meat[9] in the proximity of her mouth. She read out loud the scriptures on palm leaves [i.e., the sūtras] with a clear and distinct voice

8 The stele was erected at Ch'ilsŏng Hermitage 七星庵 of Pohyŏn-sa, located on Myohyang-san near Yŏngbyŏn, Northern P'yŏng'an Province. The date of the stele is unknown, but it was probably set up after 1782, the sixth year of King Chŏngjo's 正祖 reign.

9 The character *hun* 葷 refers to pungent food or also meat or fish. *Hyŏl* 血 means "blood" and likewise refers to meat. Cf. "五辛: The five forbidden pungent roots, 五葷 garlic, three kinds of onions, and leeks; if eaten raw they are said to cause irritability of temper, and if eaten cooked, they are said to act as an aphrodisiac; moreover, the breath of the eater, if reading the sutras, will drive away the good spirits."

regardless of whether it was morning or night. With determination she wandered back and forth to [monasteries in] famous mountain landscapes, as if she was crossing over the threshold [of her own house]. But in the middle of the night she always made prostrations to the Big Dipper in the [monastery's] courtyard, upon which she went into her quarters where she [sat] facing the wall [in meditation], being so calm as if she had fallen asleep while sitting [in meditation], but she was really not sleeping.

英宗乙未, 余納關西節, 歸終南舊第. 一日師請謁. 余問曰, "遠來良苦意, 何居." 師曰, "關西民 被老爺恩澤, 無終極. 身雖女人乎, 安得不一來謝."

In the thirty-second year of the sexagenary cycle [1775], in the reign of [King] Yŏngjong, I resigned from my post of Military Commissioner[10] of Kwansŏ and returned to my old residence on Chongnam-san [in Seoul]. One day, the master [Chŏng'yu] requested me for an audience. I asked her, saying, "You must have undergone quite some hardships in coming from far way. Where do you reside?" The master said, "The people of Kwansŏ have received from you, venerable sir, favors without limits. Although my body is that of a woman, how could I not come once to thank you?"

仍侍吾室貞敬夫人, 留數月以去, 明年如之, 又明年又如之, 其容不少倦, 余嘗盡室居.

Thereupon she remained to attend my wife, Lady Chŏnggyŏng. Several months went by. The next year went by like this. And the next year likewise went by like this. Her countenance did not betray the slightest hint of tiredness. I also did my best to have her dwell in my house.

明德山中師來言, 以僧快浩者. 結爲母子, 老身庶可有托. 仍以快浩見余掃春星堂, 使師與快浩者留. 每夜深, 倚杖光影池, 上望見萬木叢翳中, 孤燈炯然照窓, 經聲

10 Hucker 777.

或高或低, 與松風澗響相答應, 可知師不眠也. 余輒喜曰, '此山居奇事.'

A master [i.e., a nun] came from Myŏngdŏk-san[11] and said, "I am [the nun] K'waeho. I have established a bond of mother and daughter [with the master Chŏng'yu] so that I, an old woman, can have someone to rely upon." Then I saw to it that the Ch'unsŏng-hall was cleaned, and had the master [Chŏng'yu] to stay [there] with K'waeho. Everyday late at night, leaning on my cane at the Kwangyŏng Pond,[12] I gazed upwards, and within the screen of a thicket of a myriad trees, saw the bright light of a solitary lamp shining [through the master's] window, the sound of the recited sūtras sometimes high and sometimes low, in response to the wind through the pine trees and the sounds of the gully. Evidently the master was not sleeping [but practising till late at night]. I suddenly rejoiced and said, "There is a marvelous phenomenon dwelling on this mountain."

未幾, 師俶裝曰, "將歸長湍之華藏菴, 祝髮爲僧." 從此辭時, 師年已六十餘. 余慰之曰, "何自苦乃爾." 師曰, "死不遠, 至願往涅槃, 不祝髮恐不得如願. 仍泣下曰, 後期有無, 以是悲耳."

Before long, the master wrapped up her travel luggage and said, "I am going to return to Hwajang-am in Changdan to take the tonsure to become a [full-ordained] nun." Thereupon she took leave. At that time, the master was already over sixty years old. I consoled her, saying, "Why are you bringing hardships upon yourself to such an extent?" The master said, "Death is not far away. I want to realize my vow to go to nirvāṇa. If I do not take tonsure, I fear that I will not fulfill my vow." Then she shed tears and said, "There is no guarantee we will meet again. Therefore I am sad."

11 Myŏngdŏk-san 明德山 is the mountain where Ch'ae Che-gong 蔡濟恭 (1720–1799, pen name Pŏn'am 樊巖), a minister serving the kings Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo, retired for a period of eight years, after having asserted the sanity of the Crown Prince Sado 思悼 (1735–1762) in 1780.

12 The Kwangyŏng 光影 Pond (光影池) was a pond tended by Ch'ae Che-gong.

後數月往華藏菴, 有書曰, '已於某日祝髮, 法名曰定有, 大法師曰 律菴食活云.' 壬寅十一月十五日, 師化去, 臘六十六. 及涅槃, 舍利珠跳出, 快浩將安塔於關西之七星菴, 乞余文以記其事念.

Several months after she went to Hwajang-am,[13] there was a letter [from her] which said, "I was tonsured [and became a nun] on such-and-such a day. My Dharma name is Chŏng'yu. My great Dharma teacher is called Yuram Sikhwal." On the fifteenth day of the eleventh month in the thirty-ninth year of the sexagenary cycle, the master [Chŏng'yu] passed away. She was sixty-six years old. At her cremation [lit. "nirvāṇa"] pearl[-shaped] relics jumped out. K'waeho intended to enshrine [her relics] in a stūpa at Ch'ilsŏng-am in Kwansŏ[14] and requested [lit. "begged"] me for an inscription. [Thus] I recorded those events I remembered.

余戊戌夏, 使燕還夜, 渡淸川江, 師自平壤徒步二百里, 待我於舟中. 相見喜甚, 剖西瓜, 以進其意, 何可忘也. 後又爲余禳災, 入深山齋沐, 達曙禱神, 盡百日乃止, 觀其意事可以益, 余死亦無辭. 嗚呼. 於今世, 何可復得也. 余不忍屓師强疾, 而爲之銘. 銘曰,

In the summer of the thirty-fifth year of the sexagenary cycle, I was sent [as an envoy] to Yanjing and on the night of my return, as I crossed the Ch'ŏngch'ŏn River, Master [Chŏng'yu] had gone on foot two hundred *li* from P'yŏngyang to wait for me on the boat. We were greatly delighted upon meeting again and we sliced a watermelon. How could I possibly forget her intention of having come [to meet me]? Later on, again, to perform prayers to avert misfortune for my sake, she entered into deep mountains and performed ablutions. She prayed to the spirits until dawn for a hundred days. Considering her intention, this matter was all the more [worth of remembering]. I cannot express [my gratitude] even to until I die. Alas!

13 Hwajang-am 華藏菴 refers to Hwajang-sa, located on Pobong-san in Kyŏnggi Province.

14 That is, at Ch'ilsŏng-am at Pohyŏn-sa in Myohyang-san.

Where in this world can I meet her again? I cannot endure to decline the master's [K'waeho] forceful request and composed the inscription. The inscription says,

> 此界何苦, 西方何樂.
> 棺槨何厭, 茶毘何欲.

Why is there suffering in this world, why is there bliss in the Western Pure Land?
Why do you dislike coffins, why do you want cremation?

> 無問棺槨與茶毘, 歸於無.
> 畢竟奚間, 吾故曰.

No matter whether you are buried in a coffin or whether you are cremated, you will revert to nothingness.
Ultimately where will you be? Therefore I say

> 盈天地百千萬事,
> 無可願亦無不可願.
> 歸謁釋迦牟尼,
> 試以吾言問之.

Among all the things filling heaven and earth, there is nothing to be wished for and likewise there is also nothing not to be wished for.
As you return [i.e., pass away] and meet Śākyamuni, try using my words to ask him about it.

3.
Text of the Stele Commemorating the Virtuous Deeds of the *bhikṣuṇī* Seman at Naejang-sa in Chŏng'ŭp.[15]

井邑 內藏寺 比丘尼 世萬功德記念碑文

內藏山比丘尼世萬功德紀念碑 幷序

Stele Inscription with Preface commemorating the virtuous deeds of the bhikṣuṇī Seman on Naejang-san.

在唐之新州盧行者, 得黃梅衣鉢, 踰嶺至曹溪, 有無盡藏比丘尼. 問涅槃經義, 而知其非凡流, 乃白其父兄, 重脩寶林寺, 而延居之.

Postulant Lu[16] of Xinzhou[17] in the Tang, having obtained Huangmei's robe

[15] Naejang-sa is located on Naejang-san, near Chŏng'ŭp, Northern Chŏlla Province. The stele was erected in 1939, during the Japanese occupation.

[16] Practitioner Lu (*Lu xingzhe* 盧行者) refers to the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. Lu was Huineng's secular surname. "Practitioner" refers to Huineng's lay status as postulant, or candidate for monkhood, who was put in charge of menial tasks at the monastery. Huineng is referred as Practitioner Lu because he was a lay disciple of the fifth patriarch Hongren 弘忍. See *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 T. 48.2016.444c13 " 'There were five hundred people in the Huangmei [Hongren's] assembly. Why was it only postulant Lu who got the robe and bowl?' The master said, 'It just because 499 people understood the Buddha dharma, and only postulant Lu did not. The reason he got the robe and bowl was because only he comprehendeed the Way.' " 黃梅門下有五百人 為甚麼 盧行者獨得 衣鉢 師云 只為四百九十九人 皆解佛法 只有盧行者一人 不解佛法 只會其道 所以得衣鉢.

[17] Xinzhou 新州 is the place of origin of the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. It was the name of a prefecture (*zhou* 州) during the Tang dynasty, and is located in modern Guangdong 廣東 Province.

and bowl,[18] crossed over the mountain ridge [i.e., Dayuling] and reached Caoxi [Mountain], where there was the bhikṣuṇī Wujinzang.[19] She asked him about the meaning of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and, having realized that he was not an ordinary person, she told her paternal uncle to rebuild Baolin-si and invited him to stay.

居無何, 行者遂避難于懷集間, 轉到法性寺, 因談風幡話已, 遂爲僧. 而復回曹磎, 開法於寶林, 號爲六祖, 蓋有無盡藏尼之緣因, 亦爲不淺矣.

He had not dwelt there for long before the postulant [Lu; ie., Huineng] took shelter from the difficulties [of the secular world] by moving to [the region] between Huizhou and Jizhou[20] until he arrived at Faxing-si,[21] where, motivated by the discussion he had with [two monks] about the flag moving in the wind,[22] he finally became a monk.[23] Thereafter he returned to Caoxi,

18 Huangmei refers to the fifth patriarch Hongren, who was the abbot of Baolin-si on Huangmei-shan 黃梅山.

19 Wujinzang 無盡藏 was the paternal aunt of Liu Zhi-lüe 劉志略, a renowned scholar and layman. See, *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* (Platform Sutra) 六祖大師法寶壇經 T. 2008.48.355a14.

20 Huizhou 會洲 and Jizhou 集洲 are located in Sichuan 四川 Province.

21 Faxing-si 法性寺, located in the northwestern part of Guangdong Province, was a monastery associated with various famous monks, including Bodhidharma and Paramārtha. It was here that Huineng was ordained as a monk after having obtained the dharma-transmission as a layman. A stūpa containing Huineng's shaved hair (瘞髮塔) and a Hall of the Sixth Patriarch (Liuzu dian 六祖殿) commemorate the event.

22 The discussion about the flag moving in the wind refers to the episode of when Huineng was dwelling at Faxing-si. Two monks were engaged in a debate upon seeing a flag moving in the wind. One monk asserted that it was the flag that moved, whereas the other monk asserted that it was the wind that moved. Huineng, witnessing this discussion, surprised the monks by saying that it was the mind that moves. See, *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 T. 2076.51.235c3. 暮夜風颺刹幡 聞二僧對論 一云幡動 一云風動 往復酬答未曾契理 師曰可容俗流輒預高論否 直以風幡非動動自心耳 印宗竊聆此語竦然異之 翌日邀師入室. 徵風幡之義 師具以理告 印宗不覺起立云 行者定非常人師為是誰. 師更無所隱直敘得法因由 於是印宗執弟子之禮請受禪要 乃告四眾曰 印宗具足凡夫 今遇肉身菩薩即指坐 下盧居士云 即此是也.

and began preaching the Dharma at Baolin-si, [and finally was referred to] by the title of Sixth Patriarch.

Now, his karmic affinity with the bhikṣuṇī Wujinzang was indeed not superficial.

若己卯三月日, 內藏寺住持, 梅谷上人, 訪鎬於東林道, 其內藏山靈隱庵, 故比丘尼世萬, 有中興功德, 因請碑記. 謹按, 比丘尼世萬, 憲宗丁未, 生于光州金塘里. 世族坡平尹氏, 考諱大興, 妣金氏.

On a day of the third month in the sixteenth year of the sexagenary cycle [1939], the abbot of Naejang-sa, his eminence Maegok,[24] visited me at Tongnim-sa[25] to request me to write an inscription for [the stūpa of] the late bhikṣuṇī Seman [who formerly resided] at Yŏng'ŭn-am[26] on Naejang-san and had [accomplished] the meritorious deed of restoring [Yŏng'ŭn-am]. Carefully scrutinizing [her biography, I learned that] the bhikṣuṇī Seman was born in the forty-fourth year of the sexagenary cycle in the reign of Hŏnjong [1847], in Kŭmdang-ri in Kwangju, in the influential family of the P'ap'yŏng Yun. Her father's taboo name was Taehŭng, her mother was from the Kim clan.

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23 The day of Huineng's tonsure and ordination as a monk is given as the twenty-eight day of the second [lunar] month, (which also corresponds to the day of Buddha's nirvana). See *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 T. 2076.51.235c11) 即此是也 因請出所傳信衣悉令瞻禮 至正月十五日 會諸名德為之剃髮 二月八日就法性寺智光律師受滿分戒 其戒壇即宋朝求那跋陀三藏之所置也.

24 Maegok 梅谷 was the disciple of Hangmyŏng 鶴鳴 (1867–1929). His stūpa was erected in 1955 at Naejang-sa.

25 Tongnim-sa 東林寺 is located north of Hwasun, South Chŏlla Province. The famous Confucian scholar Chŏng Yak-yong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836) stayed at this monastery with his elder brother to study for a period of over forthy days, during which he compiled the "Tongnim-sa toksŏ ki" (Record of Reading Books at Tongnim-sa) 東林寺讀書記.

26 Yŏng'ŭn-am 靈隱庵 was located within the precincts of Naejang-sa. Its origin is connected with Yŏng'ŭn-sa 靈隱寺, founded in 636 by the monk Yŏng'ŭn (referred to as "Patriarch Yŏng'ŭn"). But it was restored in the years 1896–1898 by the nun Seman who lived in that hermitage. As a training place for nuns, it was independent from Naejang-sa.

高宗癸酉, 出家于內藏山靈隱庵, 以永學比丘尼爲恩師, 受戒法于蓮谷和尙. 時年二十七. 自是以後, 嚴潔持律, 爲範於衆. 念誦佛號, 六時無倦容, 且以經紀有度. 家頗不貧, 故樂施周窮, 山野多頌聲. 望其儀貌偉骯髒, 卽之, 語言和易, 可有大人君子氣象.

In the tenth year of the sexagenary cycle in the reign of Kojong [1873], she went forth from her home to become a nun at Yŏng'ŭn-am on Naejang-san, taking the bhikṣuṇī Yŏnghak as her vocation master [ŭnsa 恩師]. She received the precepts from the reverend nun Yŏn'gok. At that time she was twenty-seven years old. From then onwards, she strictly and purely kept the precepts, becoming the model [practitioner] among the saṅgha. She recollected and recited the name of the Buddha [Amitābha] for the six periods of the day, without showing any hint of fatigue. Furthermore, as her family was far from being destitute since it had leisure achieved through business, she rejoiced giving without limits all around her. People in the mountains [i.e., monasteries] and in the countryside praised her often. Judging from her appearance, she was indeed imposing and straightforward, but her speech was amiable and gentle. Indeed she can be described as having the attributes of a great being and a gentleman.

高宗戊子春, 本庵不戒火化灰土, 經年所, 及丙申秋, 經始重造, 越明年戊戌, 告功並計殿寮二十餘架, 總費三千餘金, 儘不扣檀扉, 專傾自槖, 以見輪奐, 興復舊觀.

In the spring of the twenty-fifth year of the sexagenary cycle, in the reign of Kojong [1888], the hermitage [i.e., Yŏng'ŭn-am] was burnt to the ground due to inattention. Several years went by until the rebuilding was begun in autumn of the thirty-third year of the sexagenary cycle [1896]. In the year after the next, the thirty-fifth year of the sexagenary cycle [1898], the completion of the restoration work was announced and concomitantly the project of building a dormitory hall of over twenty spans was made. The total expenses ranged over three thousand taels (lit. kŭm). She did not in the slightest solicit donations from donors, but exclusively invested from her own pockets. Thus the building looked majestic, being restored to its former shape.

> 又屆癸亥甲子間, 鶴鳴禪師, 行脚己, 住持是寺, 出定暇日, 重築碧蓮之古法殿, 新構少林禪室, 乃勉山中尼師 助緣 獨捨五百餘金, 竟共成之.

Furthermore, between the sixtieth and the recurrent first year of the sexagenary cycle [1923–1924], the Sŏn Master Hangmyŏng[27] journeyed there and became the abbot of this monastery [i.e., Naejang-sa]. In his leisure days, when he was not cultivating Sŏn [lit. "when he came out of concentration/samādhi"], he rebuilt the Pyŏngnyŏn Hall [lit., "Blue Lotus Hall"] which had been the [monastery's] old Dharma Hall, and newly built the Sorim Sŏn quarters [i.e., the Sŏn hall named after Shaolin-si]. At that time too, the bhikṣuṇī [Seman] was among the monastics in the mountain who helped with donations. She alone donated over five hundred taels, [thus] contributing to the completion of the building.

> 率春慈諄, 老愈乾乾. 雖尼寺, 猶多古叢林風. 及夫壬申十一月十一日, 示微疾, 歸寂, 世壽八十六. 沒后八年, 其上佐尼正澤德文等, 爲其師, 樹石紀功, 圖不泯云爾.

In her youth she was compassionate and patient, in her old age she was even more diligent [in her practice]. Although it was a nunnery, it was more in the style of an ancient [teaching] monastery. On the eleventh day of the eleventh month in the ninth year of the sexagenary cycle [1932], she showed signs of a slight illness and returned to stillness [i.e., passed away]. She was eighty-six years old. Eight years after her death, her main disciples, the nuns Chŏngt'aek and Tŏkmun erected a stūpa [with a inscription] to record the accomplishments of their teacher, in order that these do not vanish.

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27 Hangmyŏng 鶴鳴 is the title (*ho* 號) of the monk Kyejong 啓宗 (1867–1929). His secular surname was Paek 白 and he originated from Yŏnggwang in Northern Chŏlla Province. Upon having heard the monk Sŏldu 雪頭 lecturing on sūtras at Kuam-sa 龜巖寺, he decided to become a monk and went to Pulgap-sa 佛岬寺, where he became a monk, taking Kŭmhwa 錦華 as his vocation master. In 1900, he was appointed as lecturer at Sŏn'un-sa. In 1923, he was appointed abbot of Naejang-sa and dedicated himself to the restoration of the monastery's buildings.

嗚呼. 鎬曾住不遠山, 聞萬老之惠風, 靡不尙矣. 得今梅谷上人 亹亹說陳, 乃盡其眞詳. 雖處濁世近日, 殆古眞人流亞, 豈有遜于曹磎無盡藏比丘尼, 重修寶林之機緣, 寔自萬老, 重造靈隱后, 法門啓運, 鶴鳴禪伯, 刱碧蓮禪室, 以昌大之. 繼有梅谷住持, 拓新道場, 開造殿寮, 南中禪風 且未艾, 寧可不知其所自與, 於是乎書.

Alas! I once resided not far from the mountain [i.e., Naejang-sa] and have heard many things about the wise style of that venerable nun. How could I not esteem her? Now I received from his eminence Maegok [the request to] vividly describe in a thorough way, her [achievements] in a truthful and detailed manner.

Even though in recent days we are confronted with a turbid world, and we risk becoming mediocre followers of the ancient true persons [i.e., the saints of yore], how could we be inferior to the faculties and conditions of the bhikṣuṇī Wujinzang on Caoxi[-shan] who rebuilt Baolin-si [for Huineng]? Thus the venerable nun [Seman] herself rebuilt Yŏng'ŭn-am and later began to expound the Dharma. The Sŏn monk Hangmyŏng built the Pyŏngnyŏn [Hall] and the Sŏn quarters, causing [Sŏn] to greatly prosper. Subsequently, the abbot Maegok expanded it by building a new place for cultivating the path, and began building a dormitory hall [to revitalize] the Sŏn style [of practice] in the Honam region, which also did not cease [to prosper later on as well]. Why should we not know the cause of this? Thus I indeed wrote this.

己卯四月日, 石顚鼎鎬, 撰.

Compiled by Sŏkchŏn Chŏngho on a day of the fourth month in the sixteenth year of the sexagenary cycle.

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In Memoriam
The Most Venerable Kasan Jikwan (1932–2012)

The heart and soul of this monumental publication project from its conception to its completion was the late Most Venerable Kasan Jikwan, Daejongsa, the 32nd President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism. Throughout his illustrious career as a scholar-monk, his cherished wish was to aid the study of Korean Buddhism overseas and to enable its legacy, which reaches back some seventeen hundred years, to become a part of the common cultural heritage of humankind. After years of prayer and planning, Ven. Kasan Jikwan was able to bring this vision to life by procuring a major grant from the Korean government. He launched the publication project shortly after taking office as president of the Jogye Order. After presiding over the publication of the complete vernacular Korean edition, Ven. Kasan Jikwan entered nirvāṇa as the English version of *The Collected Works of Korean Buddhism* was in final manuscript stage. With the publication of the English version, we bring this project to completion and commemorate the teacher whose great passion for propagation conceived it, and whose loving and selfless devotion gave it form.

Ven. Kasan Jikwan was founder of the Kasan Institute of Buddhist Culture, President of the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, and President of the Compilation Committee of Korean Buddhist Thought. A graduate of Haeinsa Saṅgha College, he received his doctorate in philosophy from Dongguk University in 1976. He led Haeinsa as the monastery's head lecturer and abbot, and Dongguk University as Professor and the 11th President. After assuming the title of *Daejongsa*, the highest monastic rank within the Jogye Order, he became the 32nd President of the Jogye Order.

The leading scholar-monk of his generation, Ven. Kasan Jikwan published over a hundred articles and books, ranging from commentaries on Buddhist classics to comparative analyses of northern and southern *Vinayas*. A pioneer in the field of metal and stone inscriptions, he published *A Critical Edition of Translated and Annotated Epitaphs of Eminent Monk*s and also composed over fifty commemorative stele inscriptions and epitaphs. He compiled the Kasan Encyclopaedia of Buddhism, thirteen volumes of which have so far been published. He was the recipient of the Silver Crown Medal of Honor, the Manhae Prize for Scholarship, and the Gold Crown Medal of Honor for Outstanding Achievement in Culture, which was awarded posthumously.

On January 2, 2012, Jikwan Sunim severed all ties to this world and entered quiescence

at Gyeongguk Temple in Jeongneung-dong, Seongbuk-gu, Seoul. He left behind these words as he departed from this world: "With this ephemeral body of flesh, I made a lotus blossom bloom in this Sahā world. With this phantom, hollow body, I reveal the dharma body in the calm quiescence of nirvāṇa." Jikwan Sunim's life spanned eighty years, sixty-six of which he spent in the Buddhist monastic order.

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